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LOUDOUN SQUARE: A COMMUNITY SURVEY—II¹

(AN ASPECT OF RACE RELATIONS IN ENGLISH
SOCIETY)

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SOCIOLOGY

IN attempting to assess some of the more important factors in connexion with this Coloured community it is necessary first of all in terms of the sociological context to stress the implications of the very close proximity of Bute Street. This street of "cafés," supper bars, and lodging houses which runs alongside the Loudoun Square area is not only responsible for providing the community proper with a continuous influx of permanent and impermanent residents, Coloured and White; but, with its unsavoury reputation, is almost indissolubly associated in the Cardiff popular mind with Loudoun Square itself. The inhabitants of the latter are strenuous in disavowing any such social or communal connexion, and claim that it is precisely the "undesirable" elements of Bute Street who give Loudoun Square its bad name. For example, the occasional disturbances which result from dicing (see later) are attributed to this "alien" element, and not to the local inhabitants. The obvious inference is that the Loudoun Square people are law-abiding citizens, who are ordinary, peace-loving, and respectable members of society when left to themselves. This suggestion is by no means an unreasonable one. Granting the possibility that a Bute Street influx, welcome or unwelcome, is inevitable, it does not follow that such visits are reciprocal, and it would probably be true to say that, so far as the greater proportion of the community is concerned, Bute Street is definitely eschewed as a place of entertainment. Whatever

¹ Part I of this study appeared in the previous number of THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW.

In the diagram on p. 31 of that article the figures for shipping should read "20 million tons" and "10 million tons" instead of 2 and 1 million tons respectively.

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picture the popular mind may have of this community, there is a strong vein of "respectability" in Loudoun Square, and the mere proximity of Bute Street and its reputation aids the enforcement of its prohibition to all who value their status.

In view of the very great variety of racial as well as national elements represented in this population (there are representatives of more than fifty different nationalities living in the Bute Town area), it is obvious that any analysis of the community in terms of social groupings must be made with the greatest caution and not a little generalization. Perhaps the simplest way to do this is by classifying the different groupings in terms of the general social or political "interests" of their members. If this, though somewhat arbitrary, procedure be followed, it is possible to distinguish the following main segments of the community.

(1) *The Afro-West Indian*

The basis of this grouping is the West Indian and West African elements consisting of several hundred men, most of them married, and a large number of them resident in the district since at least the end of the last war.¹ This group is therefore probably not far from middle age, and racially speaking it comprises by far the darkest skins in the community. Most of the West Africans hail officially from Sierra Leone, and Freetown in particular, and others are from Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Gambia, etc., with a few from French possessions, and not an insignificant number from the Portuguese Cape Verde islands. "Tribes" represented here are Temne, Mende, Kru, Wolof, Fante, Akim, Yoruba, Efik, etc. A large number of the West Indians are from Barbadoes and Trinidad, but Jamaica and the smaller islands and British Guiana are also well represented. This group is extremely "colour conscious," and is very zealous for the good name of their homeland and of people of African origin. Members speak frequently in brotherly terms of "the Coloured peoples," but there is a tendency to restrict this term to those of African origin rather than to apply it to Coloured races in general. There is a certain degree of masculinity and even austerity in their attitude. Their interests are to a certain extent political, but are apparently of a more

¹ The "oldest inhabitant," a Barbadian, arrived at Porthcawl by sailing vessel, and settled in the district in 1885. Up to the end of the last century at any rate, the establishment of an increasing number of Coloured seamen in the streets around Loudoun Square appears to have been regarded without either suspicion or hostility.

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nationalistic than socialistic nature, and they find overt expression in an official organization or association known as the Sons of Africa which originated some five years ago. The purposes of this association are primarily social and cultural, and, despite its name, membership is open to, and includes, a fairly large number of womenfolk and a few other males of non-African origin. The Association does not as yet possess rooms of its own, a fact which is much regretted by many of its members, but it holds general meetings in hired buildings and other places of assembly in the district when matters of special interest to the community come up for discussion. In the meantime affairs are carried on by a committee which meets once a week, and looks after general business. The association functions also for mutual aid in sickness or distress, and as a burial society. Its leaders are among some of the most respected members of the community, and the organization is regarded as highly respectable by Coloured and White alike. From the point of view, however, of members of the other large organization in the district, the Colonial Defence League, its purely social and cultural activities are sometimes looked upon with some impatience as being "unrealistic." This Afro-West Indian segment is a very well-established one, and in general terms represents some of the most conservative if not the most solid influence in the community as a whole.

(2) *The Moslem Segment*

This, too, is largely male in content, and is probably slightly junior in age to the Afro-West Indian. The bulk of its members are Arabs, mainly from Aden, and there are also fairly substantial numbers of Somalis from British Somaliland, Indians, Egyptians, and Malays. The total number in this segment is difficult to estimate, but if the children and women are included—for most of the former and not a few of the latter have also been "islamicized"—it probably amounts to something not far short of two thousand.¹ This segment is essentially religious and social rather than political in nature, and is bound together by the strong ties of brotherhood incumbent in the Islamic creed, despite some sectarianism in this respect.² These religious ties are responsible to a considerable degree

¹ One estimate is: Arab males, 700; Somali males, 150; Moslem children, 1,000 approximately. Since this investigation was begun a large number of these men have been lost at sea through U-boat action.

² There is an Arab Club and a Somali Club. On occasions, when a general meeting of the community as a whole is called, these clubs send their own representatives.

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for the Arabs, at any rate, making social contact almost exclusively amongst themselves, and more particularly for the practice of a considerable degree of communality in material possessions. For example, if a Moslem arrives in the district in need, one or two of the wealthier members of the group will see that he is suitably set up in clothes, etc. This "setting up" is not exactly charity, as it is expected that the member will pay off the obligation, and usually does so, when he returns back in port from his next trip. This segment used to possess its own mosque, which, however, was destroyed by a bomb during the raids on Cardiff. A school and a temporary mosque are in an establishment in Sophia Street and are carried on under the auspices of a resident sheikh and a small staff, and in the school instruction in the Koran is given to the half-caste Arab and other Moslem children. Members of the group carry out their religious devotions with great assiduity, and the building in question has appropriate facilities for cleansing and prayer. Apart from his duties as religious head, the sheikh acts also as an unofficial banker, and many hundreds of pounds are entrusted to his care by returning seamen without written bond, and are repaid in cash whenever the subscriber requires the money. The institutional side is maintained in appropriate Moslem fashion by "alms-giving" by the members. Many of these Moslems have married White wives, although there is also a small number of Somali married women. Socially, there is a tendency to regard the Arab section as being of slightly higher status than the other "Coloured" members of the community. The Arabs take a strong part in the commercial life. Many of the boarding-house keepers are Arabs and Somalis,¹ and the rôle of such men at times of shipping depression is economically often extremely arduous, as they are sometimes obliged to subsidize their lodgers until employment is found. Except for commercial purposes the Arabs appear to keep somewhat aloof from other sections of the community, but it is possible that this segregation is enforced to some degree by linguistic difficulties.

(3) *The Younger Coloured or "Half Castes"*

This segment constitutes mainly the Coloured juveniles of Anglonegroid origin of both sexes, although other "crosses" are to be

¹ There are some 50 boarding-houses in all to serve the requirements of the seafaring community, White and Coloured, viz.: Arab 17, British 8, W. African and W. Indian 4, Somali 4, Greek 4, Portuguese 3, Maltese 5; whilst the following nationalities have one each—Indian, Cypriot, Spanish, Turkish, Malay, and Scandinavian.

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found mixing with it. In some senses, therefore, it is simply a younger age group. Members of this group mix fairly freely, and on the surface present almost a light-hearted attitude towards life, and a suggestion of irresponsibility, the degree of which is apt to be estimated differently by different observers. The latter point requires further diagnosis, however, and is dealt with under a separate heading. The group as a whole is highly conscious of its own "peculiar" social and racial position, and this point provides perhaps its most obvious reaction, and even interest.

(4) *The Political*

This comprises a fairly large section of the men of most of the segments, which to a considerable degree it cross-cuts. The grouping must be defined in very loose terms, but obtains its main coherence in membership of the other most significant organization in the district, known as the Colonial Defence League. This league was started at the time of the difficulties arising out of the application of the Aliens Order and the Shipping Assistance Act (see Part I), and its objects are frankly protective of the interests and rights of the Colonial population, to a militant degree if necessary. Perhaps for this reason its influence seems to have been most marked in times of adversity rather than comparative security when its activities command less attention and sympathy. By some it is spoken of as "communistic," and in so far as its appeal is for co-operation on very broad and non-racial lines, this appellation is no doubt a suitable one. The organization appears to make little appeal to many of the older and more conservative-minded Africans and West Indians. Its strength lies in the obviousness of its cause, and it is possible that its lack of concordance with the other large association is to be attributed more to a conflict of personalities than of principles.

(5) *The Womenfolk*

By this segment is meant mainly the married women, White and Coloured, whose interests are mainly domestic and social along lines prescribed for their sex. It is difficult to say how many of the White women are of local, or even of Welsh origin. The Cardiff School Medical Officer who attempted in 1922 to arrive at the solution of the population composition of the city estimated that no more than 22 per cent. of Cardiff's female parents emanated from

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South Wales,¹ and this finding is in line with the considerable influx of immigrants which in the latter part of the previous century helped to swell the city to its present size. As far as the present community is concerned, it is possible that even this low figure is in excess of the true position. This segment, however, is extremely important in terms of the present context, not only because the community as it exists to-day has grown around, and as a result of, the presence of these women, but also because, diagrammatically speaking, the segment of womenfolk presents the connecting line between all the other segments described above. The establishment of this part of the community must be viewed very largely in terms of the "colour complex" as a whole. Among the older women will be found some whose marriage to a Coloured man proved socially too inauspicious from the point of view of her parents and friends, and who, in consequence, partly for convenience and partly through social pressure, were obliged to move to the Coloured quarter of the town. With the arrival of children her position in the district became consolidated more or less for good. Others have come in a variety of ways, and some at least as a direct result of social or economic mishaps in other parts of the country, or in the neighbourhood of Cardiff. In the earlier days, at any rate, it appears certain that Bute Street served directly or indirectly as a "matrimonial" agency in this respect, and many such contracts have since resulted in permanent and well-established households. The position has many ramifications, and can be understood fully only in terms of the peculiar social position, which the Coloured man, and particularly the working-class Coloured person, occupies in the seaport cities of this country.

(6) *Quasi-members of the Community*

These comprise a number of White families living in the district of the same social class as the Coloured members, and a further small group of more or less resident and official White persons and families like the local clergy, school-teachers, police, etc. Of these, the first named *qua* their social category and habitation here, share to some extent the common body of experience as the Coloured community as a whole; but the latter have little beyond common residence which justifies their inclusion. As a whole, and with one

¹ Annual Report for 1926 of the School Medical Officer, City of Cardiff Education Committee. 1927. pp. 9-10.

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or two significant exceptions, this small segment is easily recognizable by the extent of the social as well as the racial distance which separates it from the rest of the inhabitants of the community-area. The "poor Whites," as might be expected, have a fairly close connexion with the Coloured members, and this is particularly the case with the juveniles, but amongst some of the more official White elements there is a tendency to hold aloof.¹ The latter is manifestly the only section which feels called upon to "explain" its neighbours, and the explanation offered is of considerable variety, ranging from the sentimental to the economic, and invoking at its most baffled the mysticisms of human heredity. Conversely, the attitude of the community recognizes this "symbiosis," and is in the main apathetic or suspicious, with, however, a number of notable exceptions where personal contacts have led either to quite friendly reciprocity or to guarded hostility. Such contacts fall mainly, but not exclusively, under the category of social work, men's clubs, boys' clubs, etc., where the possibilities of sociability are somewhat in line with the pattern of the "English" social structure; and in one or two less usual associations, such as an air-raid warden's post, where on a minor scale, and with some dozen different nationalities involved, an interesting illustration of international and interracial participation is afforded.

ECONOMICS

Owing to the absence of sufficient data at the present time it is impossible to do more here than to indicate a number of general features. Although in the past years the community has suffered great hardship through the unemployment of the major proportion of its wage-earners, yet under present war-time activity, and some alleviation of the Colour Bar, it cannot be regarded at the moment as poverty stricken. The present wage scale for merchant seamen is as follows:

Fireman	£11 2s. 6d. per month.
Trimmer	£10 2s. 6d. " "
Ordinary Seaman	£7 7s. 6d. " "
Donkeyman	£12 2s. 6d. " "

These wages include, of course, food on board ship, and there are a number of wartime increments—Seafarers' Risk Money, £10

¹ More, it seems fair to say, through lack of understanding than of sympathy.

² National Maritime Board Scale October 1942.

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per month, and a differential payment of £2 per month whilst on articles, so that a fireman's pay, for example, whilst on articles would bring in some £23 per month gross. The usual practice is for married men and those with dependents to write out an allotment note before departure, and this is paid by the shipping company to the person prescribed. In prewar days the usual amount allotted in the case of a married man was £10 per month; in present circumstances payments are in the neighbourhood of £15. The available shore jobs probably bring in rather less than the money at present to be earned at sea. One African reported that he was earning £4 10s. per week as a lorry driver, and amounts of a similar size are to be earned on contractors' and Corporation work, etc. An Arab shopkeeper stated that all his 100 or so registered customers took all their rationed goods, and that in addition he sold a large quantity of supplementary goods—greens, potatoes, and other vegetables, as well as cake and sweet biscuits when available.

One of the most important, and (in terms of the large houses in the area) most essential sources of income is the boarding of lodgers and the subletting of rooms. Boarding is computed on the basis of some 25s. per week, for which a light breakfast, sandwiches, and a larger meal in the evening are provided in addition to a room. This applies ostensibly only in the case of lodgers who are not going to sea, as seafarers must by law be accommodated at a registered seamen's lodging-house,¹ where fairly similar rates are charged. Unfurnished rooms are also let for storage purposes at 4s. to 6s. per week. There is no doubt that the rents of the houses in this area are inordinately high, and although this may be partly due to a general house shortage in Cardiff and a high rate of rental in other working-class districts, yet Bute Town rents still compare unfavourably. It is understood that one reason for this is the high assessment on the Loudoun Square type of house, which means, in effect, that tenants here pay rents (which include rates) ranging from 20s. to 30s. per week for a house of three or four bedrooms and two or three other rooms. In the adjacent streets, such as Maria Street, where the houses are smaller, rents with rates vary from 18s. to 25s. per week. In most cases electric light and gas are available, but other important amenities such as baths are not plentiful to say the least, and the contrast between the cost of this type of habitation and the newer Corporation house of the parlour type,

¹ There are ways, however, of obviating the law, e.g. by "letting" a room to a "sub-tenant."

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which includes three bedrooms, and lets in the suburbs at 13s. 7d. or 15s. 3d. per week according to distance from the city, is remarkable in terms of amenities as well as cost. So far as rents of houses are concerned, it is possible that the position of the Coloured families of Cardiff is even more extreme than the position disclosed by a recent survey in Liverpool.¹ There it was found that the average Coloured seaman was paying a higher rent than the corresponding average White family, and the suggestion was made that the rent charged to Coloured families may be a not unimportant factor in their "depressed" condition of life. This point is of special interest in view of the segregative factors at work in Cardiff. It is interesting further to note that the Cardiff rents are possibly higher even than those paid by the Liverpool Coloured families. In the latter case, the median rent for seven-roomed houses was 20s. per week, and for eight-roomed houses 22s. per week. In the case of Loudoun Square district, as of course in Liverpool also, subletting of part of the house is the usual way of meeting this difficulty, and it is reported that the subletting of some of these Cardiff houses brings in as much as £150 per annum rental to the owner or first tenant. In the absence of precise data it is difficult to say to what extent this feature brings about overcrowding or overcrowded conditions, whereby the single set of amenities of a house, such as lavatories, landings, stoves, etc., will be in use by several families inhabiting the same house. Some indication of the extent of subletting was gained on the basis of the Register of Electors for 1938, using the same streets as before (see Part I) as a "control." Of some 380 houses it appeared that about 42 per cent. were sublet and occupied by more than one tenant, and that twenty-seven of these houses were occupied by three or more separate sub-tenants or tenants. Taking a similar number of streets and houses in the north end of the same Ward and north of the "colour line," i.e. on the city side of the G.W. railway bridge, it was estimated in the same way that the proportion of houses occupied and sublet to more than one family was 33 per cent. (twelve houses occupied or sublet to three or more sub-tenants). Needless to say, however, this cannot be regarded as an exact comparison in view of differences in size of house. A further rough estimate was made by taking a number of streets

¹ University of Liverpool, Social Science Department: *The Economic Status of Coloured Families in the Port of Liverpool*, pp. 17-18.

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which contain the larger type of house in the Loudoun Square area, and by using the Electoral List for the same year when, incidentally, the "population" of the area appears to have been relatively small. The results were as follows:

In Christina Street, with 51 occupied houses, there were:

- 6 adults or more in each of 5 houses.
- 5 adults in each of 10 houses.
- 2 married couples in each of 16 houses.
- 3 married couples in each of 3 houses.

In Loudoun Square itself, with 57 occupied houses, there were:

- 6 adults in each of 3 houses.
- 5 adults in each of 9 houses.
- 2 married couples in each of 14 houses.
- 3 married couples in 1 house.

Using the same means of estimation and taking the district as a whole, the actual house-occupation rate worked out at 2.88 adults per house (married persons 2, "non-attached" persons .88). Of 49 known families the average size of family worked out as 5.6 persons, and so if we include with the above figure 2.5 children under 21 for each married couple, this would give an approximate total house-occupation rate of some 5.5 persons. As already indicated, owing to the absence of "Alien" returns and other omissions from the Register, this figure must definitely be regarded as an underestimation. On the other hand, on the question of excessive limitation of living space,¹ which in the light of the above data appears to apply specifically rather than generally, it should also be remembered that quite a large proportion of the males might be expected to be absent at any one time.

Though it is impossible at present to give any estimation of the family budget itself, actual methods of expenditure are less difficult to describe. Foodstuffs are usually bought in small quantities, and are paid for in cash on the spot in the majority of cases, credit being allowed only in cases of proved infallibility. Articles demanding greater outlay, such as furniture, wireless sets, and clothes, new and second-hand, are invariably bought on the instalment or hire-

¹ The fact that the Adamsdown Ward has consistently shown the largest number of deaths from any form of tuberculosis than any other Ward has been attributed, by the Cardiff Medical Officer of Health, Dr. J. Greenwood Wilson, to "slum" conditions prevailing at sea rather than to bad housing or overcrowding in the Ward. The greater proportion of these deaths occur amongst seamen who are resident in the Ward, and who presumably contract the disease aboard ship. Cf. J. Greenwood Wilson, "Slum Clearance at Sea," *Lancet*, Sept. 12, 1936, p. 645.

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purchase system. It is not unusual to find wireless sets, which are owned fairly generally, of expensive quality. Nor is "saving" an unknown practice, and a number of the Arabs and Maltese, in particular, run businesses which call for a complicated system of book-keeping. One less orthodox method of saving is described on a later page, and another, though less unusual, is that of the Africans and West Indians, who when paid off from a trip are often in the habit of buying new suits of clothes. The object of this is not merely to satisfy a desire for finery or display, though many of them take a pride in being smartly and neatly dressed, but as one man, who had already accumulated eight suits, pointed out—it is useful to have something on one side for a "rainy day." Banking accounts are also used by a number of the Africans and other Coloured men and the Europeanized Arabs, who make use of them to send money back to their people in Aden. The less conventional method of banking amongst the Moslems in general has already been described.

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It would be unwise, and indeed it is impossible, to generalize regarding the social patterns of this community. Family life and structure on the whole are probably little different from similar strata of working-class society, where, in addition to the familiar conjugal household of the West, there is some tendency for married sons or daughters to live in the house of one of the parents. In this case, however, there are reasons for this practice apart from the purely economic aspect. Owing largely to prevailing inhibitions on the subject of Colour, young married persons from the Loudoun Square area find it very difficult to secure housing accommodation in other parts of the town, and for concomitant reasons are often disinclined to attempt to do so. As the area, particularly in terms of the smaller houses, is already well occupied, it is not difficult to see how a slightly more "consanguineous" pattern is reinforced. On the other hand, it appears as if a fairly strong movement, not so much up into the town or its suburbs (although there are few Coloured settlers there), but rather farther south towards the extreme end of the Docks, has been taking place in recent years. This area, which lies immediately south of Loudoun Square itself, and impinges almost on the water front, was previously a Spanish and a "poor White" quarter. It now appears, on the basis of one random count, to contain Coloured inhabitants in the proportions

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of about one to every three White. In other words, there, as happened previously in the case of Loudoun Square itself, the "natural history" of the city is repeating itself, and the Coloured immigrants are gradually "driving out" the original settlers.¹

Partly owing to more direct economic reasons, which can be understood plainly in terms of the size of the housing available in the area, the original conjugal nucleus is also added to by one or more male lodgers, who rent from the occupiers either a furnished or an unfurnished room for which they supply their own furniture. The lodger usually takes his meals with the family, and it seems likely in many cases, particularly if the tenant and lodger are country men, that the group functions as a single economic unit. As already mentioned, in other cases two, and sometimes even three, families will share the same house. Less close relatives of the family, too, not infrequently either share part of the same house or "live" with the family. On the basis of 49 known families, it was estimated that the latter feature occurs in some 26 per cent. of the cases; that relatives and lodgers are living with an original family in some 14 per cent. of cases; that lodgers alone are taken in some 45 per cent. of cases, and that the remaining 15 per cent. are living alone.

In speaking of the nature of these households it is necessary to proceed again with caution and with a due regard for perspective. This is all the more necessary, as in a previous Report on an African community in this country² some stress was placed on the subject of "promiscuity." So far as the Cardiff community is concerned, the impression gained was that in respect to marital and extra-marital arrangements there is little significant difference between this and other strata of English society. Moreover, in so far as divergence from the orthodox might be claimed, it seems explicable fairly readily either in terms of the *mores* of the sea-going

¹ Cf. R. E. Park, *The City*, and other members of his school. See also H. W. Zorbaugh's study of Chicago's Near North Side.

² "The Negro, part of the post-war migration from the South, an unskilled group of the lowest economic status, naturally crowded into the slum. . . . As the Irish, Swedish, and Germans had left the west district when the Sicilians came in, so now the Sicilian is beginning to give before the pressure of the Negro invasion, and is moving out. . . ." And p. 147: "The story of this Negro invasion is the old story of the competition of standards of living. Willing to live in dwellings that even the Sicilian had abandoned, willing to pay higher rents than the Sicilian had paid, meeting these rents by overcrowding, the Negro has slowly but steadily pushed his way in among the Sicilians, who in turn have begun to move northward toward North Avenue, into the German slum. . . ."—H. W. Zorbaugh, *Gold Coast and Slum*, Chap. II, "An Area in Transition."

³ The Fletcher Report, *op. cit.*, Pt. I.

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class as a whole, or of the peculiar complications which arise out of social and sexual contacts of White and Coloured persons in our society. The general rule here as elsewhere is for couples living together to be legally married, and in some respects it seems that a church marriage is preferred to an appearance before a registrar, sometimes more for sociological than religious reasons. In a number of cases again, paternity is avowedly sociological, the reason being the previous illegitimacy of the woman's child. In a few cases couples who are not married to each other, or who possess spouses elsewhere, have settled establishments, and in one at least of these instances, the Coloured man and White woman, is looked upon as a model of "respectability." In any case, etiquette demands that the lady of the house be addressed and spoken of with the conventional title accorded to a married or older woman of the married age group, i.e. "Missus." Apart from the orthodox, which is also the preponderant, type of establishment, a number of households are run on more or less "polyandrous" lines. In addition to her legal husband such a woman may have one or even two other temporary "husbands," whom she accommodates in her house on their return from sea, and from whom she subsequently receives an allotment, which in this case may be regarded as a "retaining fee." This is a practice which at times brings in a fairly considerable income to the lady in question. Children born of such unions keep the surnames of their natural fathers, and the latter very frequently take a keen interest in the subsequent welfare of their offspring. Again, however, it is necessary to stress that this type of custom has an occupational range which is by no means confined to a Coloured community. Indeed, on the subject of extra-marital or extra-legal practices, a proper sense of perspective can be gained only by comparing these and similar practices here with other strata of our society.¹ Other marital affairs and households are complicated occasionally by the "colour complex" itself. A White girl in Cardiff marrying a Coloured man runs a very considerable danger of social ostracism, not only from acquaintances and friends, but

¹ Unfortunately, no figures on this subject are available for this country, but in the case of Chicago, with a population of some 3,380,000 inhabitants, it has been estimated that nearly 500,000 extra-marital sex contacts take place weekly through the medium of the following categories of women—Prostitutes ("Juvenile," "Potential," "Amateur," "Young Professional," "Old Professional"), "Field Workers," "Bats," "Gold-Diggers," "Kept Women," "Loose" Married Women, and "Call Girls." Cf. Reports of B. C. Roloff, Chief Executive Secretary of the Illinois Social Hygiene League, quoted by Joseph Crad, *Traders in Women*. See also Walter C. Reckless, *Vice in Chicago*, University of Chicago, Sociological Series, 1933.

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from members of her own family. Her position becomes even acuter when she bears children, and the psychological and emotional conflicts which are set up as a result of this between her and her previous family have repercussions on the relations between husband and wife. It is not surprising therefore that cases of desertion on either side sometimes occur which lead to a break-up of such Coloured-White families, and to the deposition of the Coloured children with their grandparents, or with some other family. In some cases too, there can be little doubt that the situation is productive of a great deal of the so-called moral laxity similar to the cases described above.

In short, an examination of the social life of the community must take into account all these complications, and recognize that not only is the colour line acute in terms of social relations, but, metaphorically speaking, there is little, if any, marginal ground in which free social intercourse can take place. It is no doubt the case that amongst a section of the younger male Coloured, following conventional racial patterns, the "conquest" of a White woman is something which carries a certain amount of prestige, but it would be fruitless to mention this point without considering at the same time some of the further sociological implications of the situation. The occupation of the greater proportion of the menfolk not only takes them away from their homes for lengthy periods, but deposits them, married and single alike, more or less at leisure for considerable periods between voyages. This, in terms of the definite racial segregation, and the very limited facilities¹ of the district for recreation, means that they spend almost their entire time in the immediate area, and are thrown back on whatever diversions there are available. Of these, the most persistent is the game which is known in America as craps-shooting—a form of dice.

This is the most prominent form of recreation observed, but it would be a mistake to assume that it finds anything like general participation. Rather is it supported and carried on by a more or less regular school of "professionals," as they might be called. The pitch always occupies the same spot on a convenient pavement on

¹ Such amenities appear to consist merely of one or two small billiard halls and little more. There is not even a cinema in the Docks area. The nearest one is up in the town. Apparently, some of the Coloured men used to run a cricket team, but as one of them pointed out, they have to go right outside the district to get a game, and then in his own words they are immediately met with the cry, "Look at the black men, playing cricket!" It is understood that plans for the construction of a Colonial Hostel are going forward under the auspices of the Colonial Office.

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one of the longer streets. At most times of the day and every day, there are usually two such pitches in operation, surrounded by a small crowd of onlookers or intending participants, the size of which varies according to the weather and the time of the week. The weekend is the time of maximal interest, largely because on Fridays the men draw their weekly Pool money.¹ Amounts wagered vary very much, from sixpences to, it is said, as much as £20. Visibly, however, they never amounted to more than £6 at a time. The procedure is for the player to call out, or to pitch the stake for which he is prepared to play on to the pavement, and when his challenge has been taken up by the arrival of a similar amount beside his own, to throw his own two dice from the road side of the pavement towards the wall. It does not appear to spoil the throw if in the course of their run the dice hit against a natural obstacle.² The players are mostly of the younger set, and their activities are looked on with varying degrees of disapproval by a large number of the community as a whole; but the most general reaction is one of amused or cynical tolerance. Children are not encouraged to look on at this performance, and are prohibited from imitating it in the street, but they do so occasionally in play. The main objection to this dicing from the point of view of the community appears to be the occasional scuffles to which it gives rise, and the unwelcome attention which the scene of the arena in turn receives from the police. The latter are in the habit of making occasional raids on the players, but as there is an efficient alarm system in operation, the players have usually broken up and dispersed before the agents of the law can appear round the nearest corner. In their attempt to obtain actual identification, the police are said to have developed the technique of the surprise attack, swinging round the corners suddenly in a car or arriving with blackened faces.³

¹ I.e. during the present war all merchant seamen, whilst not actually on articles, form part of a general "Pool," from which they receive employment as required by Government service. During this time they are paid "pool" wages, e.g. fireman £3 8s. 6d. per week; trimmer, £3 6s. 6d. per week, etc.

² The dice are thrown with a characteristic movement of the hand, and jerk of the wrist, something like the throw of the bowler throwing underhand, and simultaneously the thumb is flicked with an audible click against the side of the index finger, the thrower usually interjecting some cry of encouragement. Seven is a winning total, but if a ten is thrown, another ten must be obtained before the player can score a winning number. There are various combinations, on the lines of this theme, which may be substituted.

³ Two solutions to this "social problem" were suggested to the writer by members of the community: (a) that much higher fines should be imposed on the culprits when caught, the usual 5s. fine being regarded as quite inadequate; and (b) that the players should rent a room where "they could gamble away to their heart's content."

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Other and more general diversions are betting on dogs and horses, and some interest in football pools. There are at least two ostensible betting houses, and more possibly exist, and on Saturday afternoons there is a steady flow of both male and female punters into and out of the private houses concerned. The betting practice seems to be carried on irrespective of sex or age, and although it is impossible to state the average size of bet, it seems likely that a large proportion of the wagers fall into the 1s. category. There is no dog track within the district, but it is understood that there is an attendance of devotees from the district at the Craven Arms track, and possibly exaggerated stories are told of the winning and losing of hundreds of pounds in a single evening. It is as well to qualify the doubt concerning these because, socially at any rate, the gambling complex is here an important factor, and large amounts which are reputed to change hands should not be lightly discounted. An unmarried seaman might return to the district, or arrive in Bute Street, with £50 or more in his pocket after being paid off, and might spend the bulk of the sum in this way. It is also possible that the larger amounts circulate not unevenly among a certain set. The Somalis, here in particular, have a strong reputation for gambling, and are also reputed to be very generous with their winnings.¹ There are, however, other ways of disposing of winnings. A Gambian bought a motor-car with his week's winnings at dice, and possibly a fair amount finds its way into the pockets of the brewers, or is diverted into less socially approved channels. In general an estimation of the effect of this on the family or personal budget would make very interesting reading, as, we hasten to add, it would also in other strata of society. In February 1936 the *Economist* estimated that the total national expenditure on gambling was approximately £400 millions per year, a figure which, it is reasonable to suggest, has increased rather than diminished in subsequent years (see Beverley Nichols, *News of England*, "The Goddess of Chance," pp. 71-85). In terms of the total adult population of Great Britain, the sum of some £400 millions averages out to some £15 per annum per adult, and affords a more adequate perspective on the Loudoun Square situation.

¹ Another point in this respect, which is possibly not immediately obvious, is the likelihood of "gambling" ranking as a social institution amongst many of the non-Europeans. It is understood that in some Asiatic-owned restaurants, pieces are supplied as a matter of course after the meal, and that the actual gaming serves as a kind of mental exercise and psychological stimulus, the money itself simply providing the means by which it is carried on.

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So far as the younger members and the women are concerned, film going is by far the most popular form of entertainment. Young half-caste girls are likely to go to the cinema at least twice, if not three times a week, and sometimes perhaps even oftener.¹ As in other social groups cinema-going is here an institution of some considerable sanctity, as was indicated by the remark of one of the White housewives: "I don't care for the pictures, if you'll excuse my saying so." The young half-castes are apparently ready to brave even the odium of the Colour Bar to visit mid-town houses. The local churches have organized a certain amount of social club life and activity amongst the younger people. Companies of the Boys' Brigade, Girls' Life Brigade, Boy Scouts and Girl Guides exist, and the "G.L.B.," in particular, seems to have achieved a fair degree of popularity.

The extent of the drinking habits of the community is difficult to estimate (the Moslems provide an exception in this respect). Publicly, however, the practice appears to be a very moderate one, and although carried on by both sexes, it produces no signs of excess within the district, although an occasional drunken woman can be seen even in daytime in Bute Street.² Judging by reports and appearances, drink, or rather the associations of drink, are regarded by many of the younger members of the community with a certain amount of very self-conscious diffidence, possibly on account of the known aphrodisiacal qualities of certain beverages. In some cases a somewhat similar attitude is adopted towards dancing, perhaps for a similar reason, although there is no doubt regarding the popularity of this pastime so far as the younger people are concerned. Again, however, there is a marked absence of such facilities in the district, and its prohibition appears to have been reinforced in the past by a certain amount of resistance on the part of one of the churches against the use of its hall for this purpose,

¹ In a sample of employed and unemployed young people from Cardiff, Newport, and Pontypridd, A. J. Lush found that next to "walking about," cinema going was the principal form of leisure-time activity. About 22 per cent. of the sample were in the habit of visiting a cinema at least twice a week.—A. J. Lush, *The Young Adult*, Univ. Wales Press Bd., 1941, pp. 79-80.

² Beer is consumed most generally, sweet wines are popular, and rum as an occasional drink is favoured by the Negro seamen. Another popular beverage in the district is "near" or hop beer, and this is sold in the Bute Street "cafés" after legal hours at considerably enhanced prices. Another feature of the latter "houses" is the sale of diluted whisky in ordinary tea-cups at 2s. 6d. or more per cup in the inner room. The use of the cups makes police supervision difficult, and with the aid of slop-buckets into which, if necessary, the contents can be hastily poured, and a system of reflecting glasses, unwelcome detection is made even less likely. As already indicated, these places cater almost entirely for visiting and not for "local" trade.

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presumably through fear of the social consequences. On the other hand, there are no doubt certain cultural and psychological features present in the situation which would support the contention of the "too early" development of the Coloured adolescents. Their more rapid physical growth seems to be borne out both by general agreement of other observers and tentatively by a number of anthropometric observations made by the writer himself,¹ and it is particularly marked in the case of the girls, many of whom are said to commence menstruation at the age of 10 or 11, and are apparently sexually mature when they leave school at the age of 14-15. Their behaviour too is apparently more mature than youths of an older age, and it is reported that the latter have sometimes strongly objected to the "girls hanging around after them." A certain amount of precocity in terms of paint and powder is doubtless explicable as imitation.

Whilst there is a possible explanation for the comparatively early maturity of the child of mixed blood in terms of racial differences, there is little doubt that, primarily at any rate, purely cultural and environmental considerations should have the prior claim to attention in this case.² To a certain extent the nature of the family life with lack of discipline and restraint; in some cases, perhaps, a very early acquaintance with the nature and implications of sex; a continuous contact with the more romantic type of film-show; and perhaps most particularly, a strong and increasing sense of frustration in all directions owing to the gradual consciousness of their own "peculiar" position, and the barrier of Colour prejudice, would all tend toward the production of psychological and physical precocity.

EDUCATION, ETC.

The attention and amount of care given to the upbringing of the young in this community is a variable quantity. Most outside observers, and some of the adult members of the community itself,

¹ Cf. "Some Anthropological Characteristics of the Anglo-Negroid Cross," K. L. Little, *Eugenics Review*, January 1942.

² See Otto Klineberg, *Race Differences*: "... A great many factors may help to determine the time of the first menstruation. Health and economic status certainly, and climate and sex stimulation in all probability. . . . Before concluding that race also enters, we must rule out these various factors which in themselves seem to account for all the observed differences between the various groups studied. In any case . . . the time of first menstruation has probably no great significance for the problem of racial psychology" (p. 107).

Ploss and Bartels, *Woman*, vol. I, after an equally extensive survey of the literature, also find it impossible to arrive at any final estimate in terms of racial differences in this respect.

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are apt to speak of the children running "wild," and of a general lack of routine and discipline in the homes. In a number of cases this lack of care is indisputable. Hours of meals are apt to be irregular, and the children may not arrive at school at all on some mornings owing to the more pressing importance of some domestic business. Judging, however, from the appearance of the younger children, it would appear as if they are not only fairly robust,¹ but are well looked after both physically and materially, since in clothing and equipment they compared by no means unfavourably with children in another, and probably more prosperous, working-class quarter. It is said, however, that the mothers lose interest in their offspring after they have reached the age of 6 or 7. The children are treated very kindly by their parents in the ordinary way, particularly by the father; and unless the mother happens to have a fit of "temperament,"² their life is probably a very happy one, for they display considerable vitality, amounting to extreme restlessness. The latter may no doubt be explained not only by the looseness of home control, but by the long hours of communal play in the streets, which is carried on quite irrespective of Colour differences. All this renders individual attempts at discipline the more difficult.

The actual education of this community may be discussed in general terms. The children receive the usual elementary education up to 14 years. It was gathered at the largest school in the district that some half-dozen boys out of the leaving class proceed each year to a secondary school. Of these as a rule only two or perhaps three at the most will be Coloured boys. In the case of the girls the number is usually negligible. The explanation of this lack of Coloured entrants to the Cardiff secondary schools is partly economic,³ although free schooling plus a small grant for clothes and books is available for every Cardiff child who can pass the qualifying standard. Another, and perhaps equally serious, difficulty arises out of the implications of the Colour Bar. As already mentioned

¹ Samples of the Anglo-Negroid and White children suggested anthropometrically that the former were more developed both in weight and stature for their age than the latter. The sample as a whole showed up favourably in comparison with a previous sample (Cathcart-Murray) selected from "poor" children in Cardiff. K. L. Little, *op. cit.* Herskovits has also noted this point (*Anthropometry of the American Negro*).

² This has been said to involve some very drastic methods of discipline.

³ "Poverty of the parents prevents many of the children from receiving a thorough education and many have had to relinquish High School scholarships."—*Make Cardiff a Capital City*, Communist Party publication.

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(see Part I), before the war it was extremely difficult for the Juvenile Employment Bureau to place a Coloured boy or girl in anything but the poorest grade of employment—messenger boy, rag-picking, or domestic service—in the case of the girls even this was often impossible. Even for Coloured boys and girls who had actually been through secondary school, "white-collar" occupations were virtually out of the question. In the circumstances, although there have been potential Coloured candidates for the qualifying examination, it has often been difficult to persuade them and their parents to take the risk of sitting, since attendance at the secondary school will mean all the expense of maintaining the child there with doubtful prospects of any social and economic return on the outlay. A further difficulty, fairly common to working-class districts in general, devolves from other obstacles. Cramped home quarters, noise, etc., stand in the way of studying and preparing for an examination which must be taken in competition with the children of richer parents who can provide all the advantages of quietness and also extra tuition, if necessary. It is thus easy to see how the unemployability and lack of education of the Coloured juvenile come to constitute a "vicious circle." In the case of a few of the boys, more far-sighted parents have insisted on apprenticing them to mechanical engineering and allied trades; but for the great majority up to the time of the war the only progressive outlet of any consequence lay in the fields of entertainment; dancing or dance-band instrumentalists, where apparently the prejudice of White patrons in this country, as in America, does not discriminate against a Coloured person. For the girls, the optimum career outside the district lay in the possibilities of obtaining a post as a domestic servant in the house of a family which was tolerant on the question of Colour.

The standard and type of education possessed by the adult and other members of the community is somewhat variable, but on the whole, by European standards at any rate, it is undoubtedly very low. For example, few of the Arabs and Somalis are literate. Most of the Africans appear to have received a primary education, mainly at Mission schools in Africa, and a few of them, and rather more of the West Indians, have passed through secondary schools. The women of the district appear to be no more and no less literate than other members of the social class from which the great majority of them are drawn. Most, if not all, the West Africans and West

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Indians understand English, although their speaking of it varies a great deal in fluency and expression.¹ Quite a number of the Arabs appear to understand English well enough, but it is doubtful if many of them can speak our language to any degree, and very few of them can write it. Amongst themselves, Arabic is the usual and probably the inevitable means of communication.

The general educational standard is reflected to a large degree in the type of religious beliefs possessed by the community. Amongst some of the older West Africans and West Indians, the Methodist Church makes a strong appeal; the attendance of this group is very regular, and its devotions are carried out with all the zest and sincerity of the mission type of convert. The rest of the Coloured (i.e. non-Arab) community appears to make little formal acknowledgment. A number of more or less indigenous African customs, such as the holding of wakes after funerals, and even some drumming, are sometimes carried out.² In some cases, too, it is possible that a certain interest in the occult may be mingled with what on the surface might be construed as a purely materialistic outlook, although it would probably be strenuously denied by those who are most proud of their European education. One case of sorcery amongst the Arab community was quoted. It may be assumed on *a priori* grounds that the religious attitude of the women is probably most limited of all, although here again there is some attendance of White wives and relatives at church. Amongst this class, however, as elsewhere, there is also a strong vein of what for want of a better word can only be described as Fatalism.³ Mention should be made again of the strong body of Islamic faith. The adherents of this creed not only carry out their religious and ritualistic obligations with more fervour than the rest of the community, but are correspondingly surer both of their creed and of themselves. The various prohibitions enjoined by the Prophet are on the whole rigorously

¹ Nevertheless, several of the African seamen are probably equipped linguistically better than the average English public schoolboy in that they can make themselves understood in at least four languages—English, German, French, and Spanish.

² A Gold Coast man reported that a small celebration of an Aday festival had been held "out in the country" on one occasion when a Gold Coast stool holder visited the district. It was easier, however, to keep up such ceremonies in Liverpool where there is a larger colony of G.C. people, and palm wine is available.

³ One typical remark by a White housewife who had been asked if she had sought refuge in the shelters during the air raids was: "I stayed here: the others wanted me to go; but I say, if it's coming to you, it will."

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observed,¹ as are Ramadân and other fasts and festivals.² In the celebration of the latter, ritual dress is worn by a large number of the Arabs and other Moslems.

RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE COMMUNITY

The significance and implications of colour have already been stressed in connexion with the relations of Loudoun Square with the outside world, and so in examining the question of social attitudes and etiquette inside the community it is not surprising to find that pigmentation occupies a great deal of attention. For one thing, in the absence of any general or even specific opportunities of emigration on the part of the half-caste girls, a fairly large number of marriages of the younger people are contracted "endogamously" either with a Coloured man already resident within the district, or with a newcomer of fairly similar racial antecedents.³ It was plain from the random sample already quoted (Pt. I, p. 21) that quite a number of such unions had already taken place, and granting the continuation of present circumstances it will undoubtedly increase. It is possible, also, that within the community itself the degree of pigmentation of the skin is of as much importance as any other factor in determining social status both in the case of individuals and of the various racial groups. The extent of this bias is difficult to assess in view of the sectarian nature of this population, but amongst many of the White section, and possibly to some degree also amongst the half-castes themselves, there appears to exist a succinct belief

¹ An explanation which was offered here for one of the best known of these prohibitions, the abstention from pork, provides an interesting anthropological slant. In the course of his "mission" Jesus called one day on a family, which included several children to whom he spoke. The parents did not care for his proselytizing, and the next time Jesus came they shut the children away in a room so that he would not see them. Jesus asked for the children, and eventually inquired what was in that particular room. The parents replied that there were only pigs in there. Jesus replied, "Yes, there *are* pigs in there," and when the door was opened a number of pigs did indeed run out in place of the children. And so pigs, being really human, cannot be eaten.

² For example, at the approach of Ramadân the Arab members of the A.R.P. post were careful to have their hours of duty arranged over the night watches. At other times, if one enters the post at sundown, one will discover the Arab warden kneeling in prayer.

This religious confidence carries with it a considerable degree of "hauteur" towards the religious professions of the other members of the community, in terms not only of the lack of communality amongst the latter, but in their ritualistic laxity. The Moslem "prepares" himself by bathing, and "gives himself to God," etc., and comments sarcastically on the inability of the Christian to do either.

³ One of the reasons advanced by the half-caste girls themselves is that they are reluctant to marry a White man, as they are afraid he may refer to, or call them by, the term "dirty nigger." This, however, is very probably no more than their method of compensating for the extremely limited possibilities of marrying a White. Marriages between young male Coloured and White girls, however, frequently take place, an example of the selective process at work.

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that the Africans are to be regarded as on a lower social plane than, for example, the Arabs.¹ To be married to an Arab confers more social prestige than having an African husband. This, however, is far from saying that as personalities the African members are regarded as less worthy, for it is but fair to remark that there is also a real and conscious respect for many of the latter. It must be remembered, however, that the White section here shares, and is conditioned by, the wider English culture in which it still participates, and wherein there is as yet a considerable, though unanalysed, belief in the disgrace of Colour. Even, therefore, if inferiority of the deeper coloured person is not altogether a satisfactory description of this attitude, it cannot be gainsaid that the darker-coloured skin is definitely "unfashionable," even in Loudoun Square. The older Africans and West Indians accept this attitude as a matter of course, though they are very far from accepting the premises on which it is founded, and in so far as they accord social values, look upon the possession and display of (European) education as worthy of considerable appreciation. As already suggested, the Arabs pay least attention of all to the colour implication; and whilst they do not appear to fraternize with the African members to any general degree, preserve the truest neutral attitude in the matter. Here, the background of their own culture is doubtless of importance. Their pride in this is strong, as it is also to some degree in their possession of British nationality. As mentioned, of all the Coloured, the young people of Anglo-negroid origin are undoubtedly most alive to the Colour implication, owing no doubt to their own indeterminate position. They lack on the one hand the cultural and national pride of their fathers, and on the other they gain no compensatory ties in the culture of the land in which they were born.² They lack, moreover, the philosophical attitude which the African himself adopts in this matter, and are in general little disposed towards an analysis of their own position. In such a situation it is not surprising that many of their reactions appear negative rather than positive; that their behaviour is accounted unreliable; and that their characters appear shiftless. Their situation is almost but not quite akin to the "vicious circle"—it is not worth aspiring

¹ E.g. a White housewife was heard to remark that she had been obliged that morning to go up and see the school master, because some of the children had called her son a nigger. "Everyone knows his father was an Arab," she indignantly complained.

² One significant exception to this rule was found in a half-caste, who had been born in West Africa of a White father. He spoke of West Africa as "home."

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to anything, because there is nothing for them to aspire to, and (in a sense) there is nothing for them to aspire to because they will not make the effort of aspiration.¹

Readers interested in the personality traits of the half-caste, or the "marginal man," as E. V. Stonequist terms the racial hybrid, should consult that author's very interesting book on this subject.

"The hypersensitiveness of the marginal man has been repeatedly noted. This trait is related to the exaggerated self-consciousness developed by continually looking at himself through the eyes of others. It may result in a tendency to find malice and discrimination where none was intended. By brooding over his situation and by repeatedly rehearsing past experiences in his imagination a distorted view of the world is built up. Having this conception of the world in his mind he is more likely to provoke antagonism and prejudice against himself. His own attitude evokes the responses which he dislikes. . . .

"Or it may lead to a withdrawal which prevents the individual from having experiences which might change his attitude and give him more self-confidence. . . . Out of the inferiority complex emerge various compensatory reactions. These differ greatly with the particular individual. Excessive egocentrism is present, but in relatively few cases—and even in these it may antedate the crisis experience. The desire to 'rationalize' is evident with some. The person of weaker character finds his race or nationality a convenient scapegoat; failure through personal defect is attributed to the discrimination of race prejudice. Correct diagnosis, however, is difficult, since prejudice is frequent enough to make the individual's plaint a fair one."²

But to take the situation of this community to its logical place, it is not the children of mixed blood alone whose position in this respect is marginal. With the possible exception of the Moslem section, most of the other segments are seeking, though unconsciously perhaps, assimilation in the White greater society in which so far they have set foot only geographically. Not a few of the community are dimly aware of their own position, and amongst the

¹ Cf. R. R. Moton, *What the Negro Thinks*. This writer remarks in reference to racial discrimination in the U.S.:

"One subtle and serious result of this condition is that Negro youths are deprived of many of the incentives that stimulate ambition. . . . In the majority of places where Negroes serve, there is no such thing as 'beginning at the bottom and working to the top'" (pp. 201-2).

Also: ". . . This condition of affairs has a particularly marked influence on the educational ambitions of Negro youth . . . there are relatively few opportunities for Negro youth to win the prizes in life that education gives to white people. By a subconscious reasoning many of these young people conclude that it is not worth the time and the effort to strive for an education from the normal rewards of which they are deliberately excluded."

² E. V. Stonequist, *The Marginal Man*, Scribner's, pp. 150-2. Quoted by courtesy of the author and publishers. Stonequist's remarks apply equally in the first paragraph, at any rate, to many of the Coloured men as well, as various "social workers" in the district appear to have discovered.

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White womenfolk, in particular, this realization is very evident. The consciousness of the latter of the attitudes of the outside world is in fact no less acute than the Coloured person himself, and has its concomitant effect in bringing about amongst these White consorts an obvious and well-marked sense of community-loyalty, which, even if superficial, affords a degree of compensation.¹

In such a context it is natural that there should be a number of clearly prescribed rules of etiquette. It is a very great insult, for example, except among friends and comrades, to use the term "Nigger," or any other expression signifying Colour.² Among friends, however, the term "Nig" is used and accepted as a friendly form of address. The expression used by the West African and other Coloured males, including the half-castes, for a married woman or consort is "the Missus," or simply "Missus." A form of address used by one White woman to another is "Luv." All possessing a dark colour, or any African blood, are termed "Coloured," and this word is used by both West Africans and half-castes alike to describe themselves to a stranger. In turn, however, many of the West Africans and West Indians prefer to be referred to as "Africans," or even more formally as "men of African origin," and amongst themselves they designate members of their group more specifically as a Gold Coastian, etc., and here again, as with the term "Nig," the expression "black man" is also employed. Arabs, and the lighter-coloured Moslem group, do not appear to come under the designation of "Coloured," and provided their race is known, are referred to simply as "Arabs."

The Africans are by far the most ceremonious members of the community, and granting even the linguistic and cultural difficulties of estimating the Arabs, appear also the most cultured (using the word in its conventional sense). As already mentioned, many of them retain a great pride in their native institutions, and it stands out in somewhat naïve contrast to their desire to emulate English cultural traits. This pride is accompanied on the one hand by a certain tinge of sentimental yearning for their homeland, and on the other by an apparently equivalent fear as to their reception

¹ For example, one of the White women reported that she had lost her last factory job through contesting (literally and physically) a remark derogatory of the district.

² See also Moton, *op. cit.*: "It is . . . true that certain elements of the race bandy this term (Nigger) lightly back and forth among themselves; but this does not confute the fact that all Negroes everywhere resent being called "nigger" by any White person under any circumstances, and even when the term is used in badgering among themselves, it is intended to convey, good-naturedly, a certain contemptuous disregard for the other's estimate of himself. . . ."

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there in terms of welcome and personal prestige. Their pride in Africa and themselves as Africans is tempered with a certain self-conscious appreciation of the frailties of some of their group, and also by a slight and not altogether superficial degree of sectarianism.¹ Amongst this group, the common form of salutation is the handshake, although an outsider will often be greeted by the raising of the hat. The Arabs often greet each other with the kiss. Except among the younger generation, the sexes are somewhat rarely to be seen together out of doors, unless for a visit to church, or a trip out of the district. Even on their way out of church the males tend to split away into groups of their own sex. Some of the public-houses also segregate the women, or make an official restriction on the length of time that women may remain in the men's saloon. Again, in the streets, which on fine afternoons and evenings afford a kind of unofficial clubhouse, the social groups are almost entirely confined to men, although women are frequently to be seen conversing with the menfolk from their doorways or doorsteps. The reason for this fairly definite sexual segregation is possibly a lack of common interests as much as common sympathy between wives and husbands. There is a strong air of "masculinity" about the district, if only because of the presence of so many men throughout the day, and this latter point in itself, together with the occupationally conditioned outlook of the men, makes it exceedingly difficult to compare the situation here with any but a similar type of society.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The main points which appear to arise from this survey are as follows. In the Bute Town or Docks area of Cardiff, wherein Loudoun Square is the focal point, there is a "mixed" Coloured and White community in proportions of perhaps rather more than four Coloured persons to one White. The basis of this community is the Coloured seaman and White housewife, and the main racial elements represented are Negroid and Arab. This community has been in existence in varying size since the end of the last century,

¹ This has variously been described by Africans and Coloured themselves; the expression "split tribally" has been used. The Kroo men are said to be unpopular with the bulk of the West Africans because of their "insularity." There is a remark in the *Fletcher Report* in this connexion: "The Liverpool shipowners prefer the Kroo men to those from other parts of the coast, as they are on the whole an industrious and hardworking people, and are more amenable to discipline, while the Nigerians are said to be very quarrelsome" (p. 13, *op. cit.*). This, however, must be regarded as a purely "European" attitude. In the present community, the Gold Coast men showed perhaps the greatest degree of national consciousness and pride.

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and thus long enough to produce a second generation of adult age and child-bearing potentialities. The community is segregated with some considerable degree of rigidity from the rest of the city in the geographical, social, and psychological sense, and in the last respect the existence of strong patterns of Colour prejudice among members of the town is the main causal factor. In more concrete terms this prejudice appears to have been instrumental in shaping the sociology of the Coloured community to a considerable degree. In terms of marriage and ordinary social intercourse with the opposite sex, the Coloured seamen have so far been very limited in their choice, and although in more recent years a first generation of Coloured girls has become of marriageable age, it constitutes only a slight alleviation. In recent years the community has suffered considerable hardship, partly as a result of the shipping depression, enactments under the Shipping Assistance Act, low rates of Public Assistance payments, and through being in competition with White seamen for employment during the above depression.

The cost of living in the district appears to be abnormally high owing mainly to the relatively very high rents charged, although this feature is common, to a slightly more modified extent, amongst other working-class districts of the city. In terms of educational and occupational opportunity, the chances of the Coloured children are similarly very seriously affected, and to an extent under which the White working-class children as a whole do not labour. So far as the community in general is concerned, the psychological concomitants of the Colour Bar are mainly a reaction of strong resentment, which in turn brings about some very definite sense of group consciousness and group responsibility. Under any strong and overt manifestation of Colour Bar, differences of race, custom, and language tend to become very greatly submerged, and for the time are forgotten. It is almost entirely through this type of event that the community can be spoken of as sharing a common body of experience, for it will be plain from the foregoing that it is as yet too diverse in terms of sect, race, language, and culture to be able to lay claim to any continuous and marked communal body of interest. Nevertheless, the last point requires some qualification, since amongst the large section of African origin there is at least one organization at work with, it appears, a fair degree of cohesive force. The implications of this movement, though nominally social, must realize themselves in political form before they can become effective,

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and as yet they apparently do not engage the interests of the women-folk to any great degree.

In present circumstances the community may be expected to continue more or less in its present form, and perhaps even to grow in numbers. It may be expected also to undergo further vagaries of economic hardship if the following conditions continue to obtain after the war:

(1) Strong Colour Bar patterns in Cardiff and elsewhere with the possibility of their resumption also in the shipping industry in particular, if any "depression" should occur.¹

(2) The presence of an increasing number of Coloured juveniles, more particularly girls, in the area.

(3) The restricted opportunities and incentives offered to the Coloured boys and girls to train and to find better-grade employment either in Cardiff or elsewhere.

(4) The low degree of literacy amongst the community as a whole.

On the other hand, although prognostication, in view of the many complex factors, is a hazardous undertaking, it would appear as if the following general conditions would be amongst those which might be expected to bring about an alleviation of the situation; in so far as the presence of an "alien" population in English society raises certain difficulties:

(1) The growth of a stronger and *more united* body of common opinion for political as well as social action within the community itself.²

(2) A progressive growth of toleration towards Coloured people, more particularly in the economic sphere, in Cardiff and elsewhere in this country.

(3) The provision of more, and specially designed, educational facilities within the area with the aim of equipping, in particular, the children for a *wider range* and better grade of occupation.

(4) Progressive assimilation of an increasing number of younger Coloured families in other and "better-class" areas of the city.

¹ The fact that as a result of war-time conditions in the shipping industry further Coloured "immigrants" have arrived in this country, is a matter for the most careful consideration, if many of the hardships which followed the last war are to be obviated.

² For example, with united backing from the community a Coloured representative should stand a very good chance of securing election to the City Council on behalf of the Adamsdown Ward.

NOTES ON CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS AND CLASS UNCONSCIOUSNESS

By TOM HARRISSON

"... the extraordinary interest misers arouse when skilfully brought upon the stage. Everyone has some slight fellow-feeling with these men who attack all the human emotions even as they are the embodiment of them all. Where is the man without some longing, and what social longing can be gratified without money?" (HONORÉ DE BALZAC, *Eugénie Grandet*.)

I. BACKGROUND

FEW words are more often used in social research, or indeed in current thinking and writing of any serious sort, than the word *class*. It is, for instance, a basic assumption in the development of opinion polls and social surveys that "class" is more important than age, experience, temperament, etc. Politicians commonly assume certain definite class groupings, and industrialists attach importance to these. Yet the amount of actual factual material on class difference is noticeably slight; the amount of field research (and consequent objective data) on the subject is almost negligible when compared with the extensive theoretical and generalized comment on the subject since Karl Marx.

Marx's class theory had a powerful effect, of course, on the shape of the world. Among the many in social science who have not accepted Marxist class theory, its very presence (and the ease with which it can be understood by the relatively uninformed) has acted as a continuous stimulus and challenge, against which few very definite ideas have been firmly and finally opposed. The word *class* has been used so much, and with so many different emphases, that by now it has gained a kind of existence by virtue of repetition, and even those most opposed to the conception of "class war" accept the conception of social class. It is difficult now for students in Britain to think in other terms or to use any other word; it is natural now to describe many differences between people as "class differences."

II. CLASSIFICATION

There are many systems of classifying the population on a so-called "class" basis, some of them extremely complicated. The simplest is that used by the railway companies—1st and 3rd class. (In Northern Ireland there are still a few 2nd-class carriages.)

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Anyone can travel 1st if they can afford it. But even this "class" distinction is cut across by the division of both classes into two behaviour groups—"smokers" and "non-smokers." For practical purposes, the categories which have generally been found most useful and which are widely accepted in field research at the present time, are those defined by Abrams (1) who distinguishes four "income grades":

A. Where the chief income earner receives £10 a week or more, this grade comprising 5.2 per cent. of the population.

B. Where the chief income earner receives £4 to £10 a week, 21.3 per cent. of the population.

C.1. Where the chief income earner receives £2 10s. to £4 a week, 37.8 per cent. of the population.

C.2. Where the chief income earner receives below £2 10s., comprising 35.7 per cent.

The division into C.1 and C.2 (in itself symbolically evasive) has proved clumsy in practice, and is generally covered in "market research" and opinion-poll circles by categories C and D respectively. Very approximately, A is equivalent to the "upper" and "upper-middle" class, B to the main middle class, C to the artisan class, and D to the unskilled working class. C and D together approximate to what is often known as "the working classes," three-quarters of the population. The distinctions are arbitrary and based on the simple cash index; nevertheless they are convenient and practical, so will be used for reference, without prejudice, in what follows.

Where such categories have been applied in analysing field material collected during Mass-Observation studies over the past five years, appreciable "class differences" have been found. It is impossible in a paper of this length, limited to one aspect, to go into this in full, but the available data must be briefly summarized, as a background.

III. CLASS DIFFERENCES

In almost every type of enquiry, whether by observation, overheard, interview or documentary, we find differences between A class at the one extreme and D at the other.

1. These differences are marked, for instance, in the case of clothes (2). Forty-three per cent. of A class women had stocks in hand sufficient to soften the impact of clothes rationing, as compared with only 13 per cent. of C and D. Or B women averaged six pairs of shoes each, D women two pairs of inferior quality.

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2. Associated with such a difference is a mental attitude—in this case an appreciably higher degree of conscious planning of coupon use among A and B (58 per cent. among women, 41 per cent. among men), as compared with C and D (35 per cent. and 24 per cent.).

3. There is a regular association between a difference directly determined by amount of money, and a difference of *outlook* related to the more limited economic, educational and informed outlook of D as compared with A.

4. Thousands of examples of such differences are available in Mass-Observation files. All share one characteristic—differences are not absolute, but relative. In no case have we found anything in behaviour or thought pattern which is exclusively of one class. Though there are nearly always differences when material is analysed on a class basis, the differences are frequently slight. A fair example is the percentage thinking workers' wages too high (6):

25 per cent. in B class.

20 " " " C "

11 " " " D "

5. D class regularly has less opinion than C, and so on upwards. In nearly all respects the lower income levels are less informed and less interested. This comes out too in non-voting, though again only as a tendency. In our detailed pre-war studies in Worktown, non-voting in a typical municipal election was 38 per cent. among A, 42 per cent. B, 48 per cent. C and D (3).

6. There is thus often a statistically significant correlation between a certain income level and a certain attitude. But such correlations easily obscure the fact that large numbers in one class share the same views as another. Within any one class there are probably many people, and generally a majority, who do or think or say the same as people in other classes.

7. Many opinion and intellectual differences are undoubtedly related to the amount of education the individual has received. The biggest factor here is that the great majority of D left school before they were 15, have had virtually no education since. This is, of course, related to income again. A fair example of the result is a study recently made of the Ministry of Information film, "Seaman Laskier Goes to Sea," shown throughout Britain in early 1942, featuring Frank Laskier, whose B.B.C. postscripts were so successful; it was, however, handled in a distinctly "intellectual" way so that Laskier himself did not dominate. The purpose of the film, clearly stated at the end of it, was to increase National Savings. Yet in an extensive study of those coming out of cinemas where the film had been showing, many were found who missed the point, with the usual class tendency (some gave unclassifiable answers).

Object of Film	Percentage thinking this was the Object of Film among:		
	A and B	C	D
Savings	33%	21%	13%
Stop wastage	7	7	3
Appreciate Navy and Merchant Navy .	8	21	16
Recruit for Navy and Merchant Navy .	3	6	9
"It's propaganda"	13	5	12
No opinion	31	36	44

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In another M.O.I. film of the same period, "Newspaper Train," the way in which the newspapers and railway services kept going through the blitz was explained in vivid film technique. After seeing it, 21 per cent. of B people had no idea what it was all about, 23 per cent. of C, 40 per cent. of D (cf. 4).

8. One more example. In an investigation into political attitudes made for one of the parties during 1941-2, we found that in *every* respect, A were best informed, D least. Particular enquiry was made into the knowledge of seven representative Ministers; people were asked to name the Minister of Labour, First Lord of the Admiralty, etc. The following table shows the class pattern of knowledge:

Number known correctly	Percentage knowing this Number in Class		
	A and B	C	D
Knew all seven correctly	8%	2%	1%
" six correctly	13	2	3
" five "	17	18	9
" four "	25	17	12
" three "	17	17	16
" two "	13	23	29
" one "	5	17	14
" none "	2	4	16

9. It is tempting to proliferate instances of the same sort. All the way through, they point in the same direction—towards the existence of differences which nevertheless overlap to a large extent and which follow a general pattern of cash \times education. Perhaps most important here is the steady tendency for more independence of outlook, more readiness to criticize, more positive feeling, more definite views as we go up the economic scale, though there are still plenty of chronically dull people in A, and plenty of alert people in D.

10. In numerous cases age differences, sex differences, and to a lesser extent regional differences, are more significant than class differences, though there are also many cases where class differences are the "largest." There is some tendency for the class distinction of one generation to narrow in the next. Many of the visible characteristics of A class are now acquired by young D girls, assisted by mass production, the radio (which teaches upper-class systems of dancing, cookery, speech, etc.), the popular press (particularly photographs of A clothes and gossip columns describing A behaviour).

11. There are also significant geographical variations in class differences. For instance, in London oysters are almost the prerogative of A class, and many Cockneys would not eat above a winkle whatever the price. In Blackpool, oysters are cheap and eaten by anyone, probably least of all by A class Lancashire people. In the south, a rose in a man's button-hole is generally A, but in Worktown on Sunday it is a symbol of the D home-gardener or allotment holder. The Bedlington is a very A dog in the south but in N.E. England it is a miner's sporting dog. These regional differences are not numerous, but they are significant because they cut across class differences, and further suggest how unstable these differences may be.

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These points could be greatly amplified, but the above necessarily brief summary covers the main facts relevant to the discussion that follows.

IV. "SOCIAL CLIMBING"

It is possible and practical to draw lines between different income groups, and then to find certain behaviour and attitude differences between these groups. But these differences, even between extreme limits, are very seldom *absolute*, and are generally little more than statistically demonstrable *tendencies*.

The constant overlapping of so-called "class differences" suggests that the direct outcome of income may play the primary part, and that wherever you draw the line (e.g. if you divide classes up into twenty different groups), you would still find tendencies which are correlated, though not entirely, with income level. There are many complications in this, of course, and numerous exceptions. The income of parents and grandparents comes into operation as well; this gives the *traditional* income level to individuals, and thus education (home and school), habits, manners, etc.

I suspect that the degree to which people feel conscious of their "position" decreases steadily as we go down from the top. But as we go down, the lower levels are increasingly appreciative that there are levels *above* them, and there is a general tendency to look upward, often with interest, seldom with envy, and usually with *acceptance* of something that has become inherent in British life. Indeed, the existence of such an outlook is in one sense the justification of the Marxist theory of simple class dichotomy. Marx as a sociologist obtained an exceptional understanding of British life. At the same time, as a man of action, politician, and propagandist, he could appreciate that to get the bottom of a pyramid to jump over the top would be an architectural miracle. But if one understands the pyramid structure, analyses the attitudes of people at the bottom, then presents them with another picture which recanalizes and rationalizes their attitudes, denying the "natural" obstacles, a "revolution" may become possible. No person who deeply felt that the mass of the population deserved a "better deal" could hopefully embark (in the middle of the last century) on the task of overthrowing, by direct *objective* description, the pyramid structure of traditional Britain. Marxist theory provided a psychological simplification which, even so, has only slowly been inculcated into a small section of the British "working classes" during decades of

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energetic advocacy. Fascism, using an alternative dichotomy method (i.e. selecting a conspicuous minority in the community as the adversary) has made a sort of revolution with less effort, thought, and theory.

All the time in our work we note people tending to talk about themselves as if they are "better-off" than they really are. For instance, more people will say they read *The Times* than could be true, and nearly twice as many people will say they go to church regularly than in fact can do so. Many difficulties in opinion sampling come from the tendency of people to give what they consider "respectable" answers, and the consequent difficulty of getting people to give accurate answers, even about their own incomes or how often they have a bath. In an American Gallup poll, where people were asked what class they felt they belonged to, 6 per cent. said they belonged to A, 88 per cent. to B, and only 6 per cent.—far less than the actual sampling basis—to C and D.

V. LOOKING UPWARDS

The idea of looking upwards and working upwards in a clear-cut form first impressed itself on me at my public school, where there was an elaborate system of privilege and caste, mainly based on the length of time you had been there, but also on how good you were at games. The speed at which you could move downstairs, which waistcoat buttons could be undone, which hand you could put in your pocket, what cereals could be eaten at breakfast, where you could walk, a hundred habits, were determined entirely in this way.

After that, I had occasion to spend two years among Melanesians in the New Hebrides and I found very much the same state of affairs. There, in Malekula and Santo tribes, the social pyramid is distinct, based on the number of pigs you can collect and kill. Broadly, each time you kill one hundred pigs, you go up one rung on the social ladder. You gain a few insignificant privileges, much prestige. In the end you reach so high that you are symbolically off the top of the ladder, earning the title of Hawk and (if you wish) walking about flapping your hands up and down as if in flight.

Then, when Mass-Observation started its studies in Worktown, systems closely parallel to those operating in Melanesia soon became noticeable. To give one example, from the Royal and Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes, a form of working-class freemasonry which operates in many Worktown pubs, and indeed all over the country.

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(Other similar societies are the Oddfellows and the Foresters; they started as political C and D organizations in the days when combinations of workers to better their conditions were illegal.) There are elaborate initiation rites, an esoteric terminology and strange rules of procedure at meetings; here we are only concerned with the graded rites, known as RAISING. The main ritual of the Buffs is around this Raising. One of the dominant motives running through the Order is that of advancement to a higher degree. There are four degrees, or grades, each with its own special medals, sashes, and regalia. Advancement to a higher grade is dependent upon length of membership, attendance at Lodge (branch) nights, number and variety of offices held, and the passing of an examination in the ritual of the degree to which the candidate is seeking admittance; the candidate's Lodge must vote on his fitness for the advancement. The following are abridged excerpts from an observer's report on advancement to the third Buff degree:

There are about forty men present; most have regalia and medals, some as many as five. There is a lot of drinking. Observer's group are having new "rounds" (whisky or beer) every five minutes. . . . Then enters a small dark man, about forty-five, wearing two crossed sashes, five medals, a kind of loin cloth or apron about two feet across and eighteen inches deep, blue and white, with the initials K.O.M. (which indicate that he belongs to the third degree—Knight of Merit) embroidered in gold on the white part. He also has stiff gauntlets, about nine inches deep, made of purple velvet with the initials of his Lodge embroidered on them in gold, white gloves, and a sword.

This man officiates as the intermediary between the guard of honour, and candidate, and his sponsors (all of whom are waiting outside in another room) and the officials inside. He keeps on coming and going, introducing the officials who are to function during the ceremony in place of the ordinary Lodge officials. Each makes a short, formal speech as he takes up his office. Then this intermediary (W) brings in on a pink cushion, which he holds out in front of him, a new apron of the sort that he is wearing himself; on top of it are two crossed clay pipes, of the type that were used during the observer's own initiation; but these have five or six little bows of stiff ribbon tied on them; on one pipe they are red, the other blue (to correspond with the "Royal Lights").

Now in march eighteen men, the guard of honour. Most are in full regalia, sashes, medals, gauntlets, gloves, loin clothes, and each bears on his shoulder a shiny sharp-pointed sword. (Only W has a scabbard for his. These swords are, in fact, long curved bayonets that were used by the French army during the Franco-Prussian war.) They form up in a double file. In the space between the files are, drawing-pinned on to the floor, three paper labels on which are written respectively First, Second, and Third degree.

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The candidate is then introduced. He is forty-five, "foxy-faced," tooth-brush moustache, wears a rather soiled, too-big dinner jacket, soft white shirt; his black bow-tie has a tendency to ride up over the back of his collar all the time. He is obviously very nervous indeed, makes jerky abrupt little movements, gets red in the face, and his voice is tremulous. With him are his two sponsors, both in full regalia. The three take up a position at the far end of the file.

W then advances down the file until he reaches the first degree label, where he kneels (both knees) and introduces the three. The Elevating Officer (who has replaced the Worthy Primo for the ceremony) stands up and reads from a little book.

Now the guard of honour cross swords with each other, forming a military-wedding march of swords down the file—they are of different heights, the short ones often paired with the tall ones.

A complicated ritual now follows. The candidate has to prove that he has been admitted to the first and second degrees, and as each of these things is done and the parchment of his enrolment into these degrees read out, he advances down the file to the appropriate label on the floor. Part of the proof of his initiation to the second degree is done at the back of the room, in whispers, since there are first-degree members who mustn't know the words used for this, then:

The advance to the third-degree position. The "Elevating Officer" asks the sponsors why this man should be raised to the degree of Knight. Both make short extempore speeches giving details of his length of membership, and praising him for being a good Buffalo. The Elevating Officer responds by reading a long declaration, into which were introduced the names of Peter the Hermit, Knights of Malta, Cervantes, Don Quixote, Smollett, coupled with reference to the Victoria Cross; and, it points out in the most ceremonious and highflown language that "it has long been the *most ancient custom* of mankind" to honour its leaders with the award of titles and decorations.

The candidate then kneels. Either one or both of the clay pipes were taken by the Elevating Officer, who said that he was going to knight the candidate "with the calumet of peace" as opposed to the sort of knighting that is done with the instruments of war and violence. (The eighteen swords are still crossed.) It was not possible to see what was done with the pipes. He then said, "Arise, Sir Knight."

Various high-grade people then take turns, with short speeches, to fix the new knight's regalia to him. But first the apron must be consecrated:

It is borne, on the cushion, down the file of the guard to the official in the City Marshal's seat at the other end, where it is held in front of him. He outstretches his hands, palms downwards, posed over the cushion, and then, moving the whole of each arm, he moves his hands over each other *criss-cross*, several times, and declares the apron consecrated.

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After this there is speech-making, toasting, and beer drinking, until 11.30 p.m. All those present are working men (women are not admitted).

Such rites give the participants privileges and badges for ritual occasions, only shown in public at funeral ceremonies or important civic processions. This process of taking small steps upwards in life is probably more important than has generally been appreciated. The steps can be satisfactory even if symbolic, or even if secret. They satisfy a personal, social urge; the social ambitions of poorer people are limited. We soon found many expressions of this "climbing" process, which play a really significant part in shaping Worktown culture, in fixing the trajectory of personal economics (spending) and interest, from week to week and year to year. We found three main climbing systems (conveniently referred to as cycles) within Worktown culture, in each of which the D person could rise for a definite period to the standard of B or even A.

VI. CLIMBING CYCLES

The three cycles very briefly (for reasons of space) described here are (i) the cycle of the week, (ii) the cycle of the year, and (iii) the cycle of life.

(i) *Cycle of the Week.*—The whole saving and spending pattern of Worktown is centred at the weekend, and especially on Saturday. The result can be seen in its simplest form in the public-house, the most-frequented type of social institution in Worktown. Worktown pubs are divided on a three-class basis into the Vault (equivalent to the "public bar" in the south), the Taproom, and the Lounge.

(a) *The Vault* usually has no seats, a stone floor, spittoons all round the room or sawdust all over the floor, little or no decoration. Only men may enter it, and they generally wear caps and scarves, not ties.

(b) *The Taproom*, a small room with some decoration and one or more tables with chairs where people play dominoes and cards. It is frequented by men, the inner circle of pub regulars.

(c) *The Lounge*, with carpet and/or lino on the floor, pictures, plants (castor-oil plants are gradually replacing aspidistras), a piano, plenty of tables and chairs, no spittoons. There are usually more women than men, and men seldom attend alone. No man would enter without a tie, and most wear trilby or bowler hats. In the Lounge you get the same beer as in the Vault, but it costs a penny a pint more (5).

Now, on the face of it this looks like a simple three-class system, with the Vault for the lowest level, and the Lounge for the better-off who can afford to pay a penny a pint more for the same beer in return for extra social amenities. For some time we thought that this was the basic pub arrange-

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ment. Then, when we began to get to know the regulars in certain pubs intimately, and to make systematic studies in selected pubs, we noticed that the Lounge was only heavily patronized at the weekend, and that most of those in the Lounge were the wives of the men who were in the Vault on weeknights, and who on Saturday move into the Lounge with their womenfolk. In brief, the pub focus of the ordinary night was the Vault, and the Lounge was relatively empty. The pub focus at the weekend was the Lounge, and many tieless Vault-goers of the week appeared then in the Lounge, shaved, neatly dressed, not spitting, and with their presentable womenfolk. Even among those men who stayed drinking in the Vault on Saturday night, standard of appearance went up—e.g. there was typically a 26 per cent. decline in cap-wearing, 22 per cent. decline in scarf-wearing; cap and scarf are symbols of manual work in Worktown, and no one would think of wearing them, for instance, to go to church. We pursued the suggestive lines which emerged from this pub study, and found the same process permeating Worktown life. Broadly, we found the whole of Worktown went up the social scale at the weekend. On a weekday, anybody in Worktown wearing a bowler hat was either B class or a mourner. At the weekend, anybody could and did wear a bowler, and the visible class distinctions of Tuesday became inextricably confused on Saturday afternoon. Weekend Worktown was a place superficially populated by well-to-do middle-classites—on an ordinary weekday, a city of wooden clogs, grimy faces, manual workers. Most of the week's spending was done at the weekend, and all the best clothes and best belongings then came into operation. In working people's houses where there are two rooms downstairs, the front room is hardly ever used during the week and remains a silent place of tinted walnut, lace curtains, and heavy pictures. At the weekend, you may walk along the streets and see people looking out of the front parts of their houses, having friends to drink tea.

All this, of course, is intimately linked to the Friday pay-day, the simple fact that people are better-off at the weekend. But Friday pay-day is in itself part of the pattern, as is the Sabbath day of rest. However sordid and difficult the conditions of everyday life during the week, at the weekend there is a relaxation, enough money for just a little show, or at least a walk around the town in the special suit. Much of Worktown lives from week to week for the satisfactions of the weekend. Almost equally, through each week, they live with their hopes and excitements focused on the one week's holiday a year, a week of total rest.

(ii) *The Cycle of the Year.*—As well as the weekly trajectory of spending, centred around the weekend, there is an annual cycle of importance. Most Worktown families save up every week for the one week's summer holiday, when the whole town stops work simultaneously and takes its "wakes," mainly at Blackpool. Planning for this week begins months ahead, and thinking about next year's holiday may begin immediately after the last one is over. Every kind of saving device and stimulus is brought into operation, and families will suffer actual privation so that they may be sure to put aside enough money for a real splash at Blackpool. There, for the week, they will

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spend anything up to £50. They will eat and drink as they have never eaten and drunk for a year, will go to first-class theatres and variety shows, the circus, the zoo, the aquarium, the Pleasure Beach, on every kind of racer, roundabout and Ghost Train, to the museum, the sexual abnormalities and the waxworks, onto the piers and into the band concerts, in boats and to fortune-tellers, and to all the other things quite lacking in the smoky, uniform, industrial context of Worktown. All the way they pay. At Blackpool they are not afraid to behave *conspicuously* for once in the year; they wear weird paper hats with slogans on them: "Kiss Me, Charlie" or "Come Up and See Me Sometime." Drunks staggering along the pavement are quite in order, and anybody may introduce themselves to anybody else and become friends in a few minutes—it takes months to make a friend in Worktown. Again, at Blackpool it is difficult to assess the "normal" income level of anybody. People at the D level will save up and spend their holiday at an expensive hotel. The whole point of Blackpool is that it gives you liberation from normal restraints and levels, the opportunity to be luxurious and extravagant in surroundings which are almost Oriental in their architecture. We came to the conclusion from our Worktown studies, that the week's holiday at Blackpool was the biggest "stabilizer" in Worktown life. It kept people satisfied and happy, either in memory or in anticipation, through all sorts of economic difficulties and depressions and distress.

(iii) *The Cycle of Life*.—Each week, also, most families put aside a certain sum of money in "life insurance." The main purpose in doing this is to ensure, firstly that you have a "slap-up burial" on as lavish a scale as possible (this may cost anything up to £120 for a D class person), and secondly that you get a decent position in Worktown cemetery. Graves in Worktown cemetery are graded into four classes: Class I is very expensive, the strip of graves running each side of the main paths through the cemetery. Class II covers about the second to fifth rows back from the first class. Class III is farther back still. Class IV is away out of sight. You pay according to your distance from the path, and consequently the number of people who will easily see your tombstone. It is the ambition of many Worktowners to be buried in a higher class in death than they enjoy in life, and it is the fear of all that they may end up in "a pauper's grave" at the back end of Class IV.

These class cycles (if I am right in calling them that) can be found in many other aspects of British life. Their significance is (I think) that each of them provides a kind of rationalization of class difference, compensation for economic inferiority and a temporary satisfaction of economic ambition. Whenever they have the "opportunity" many D Worktowners go and act like C and B, many C Worktowners go and act like B and A. The act is not word perfect, but in its superficial respects it is exact enough. The person who *deliberately* behaved the same every day of the week, every week of the year, every year of his life and in death, would

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indeed be regarded as odd. Yet, in three years in Worktown, we never heard any D complain that they could not go on being like that all the year round or all the week round. The situation was accepted, and practically no attention was paid to those very few locals (mostly B and C) who pointed out how stupid people were to tolerate the state of affairs where the few employers, the better-off people in the town, prevented access to most of the surrounding land (grouse moors and golf clubs) and were able to depress anybody's economic level by sacking without notice.

The fear of "the sack," of unemployment, is a big thing in C and D life, because it means going *down* in stratification through having less money, less opportunity for show, appearance, and other satisfactions. To-day's great working-class worry is about the possibility of post-war unemployment, without being coupled so far to any extensive desire for the abolition of the existing *system* of employment, through private enterprise; the feeling about that side of it comes much more from A and B classes, who favour nationalization and other big changes far more than C and D. British people want to make excursions up the side of the pyramid, step up a little. But they do not so far consider that there is any law of nature or justice which should make it *certain* that they can do so, though there is a growing feeling that there should be a better opportunity for their children to do so, if they have the ability and wish.

The vote has been given to the many. Compulsory education, its contours defined by university minds, conducts the labourer's son through labyrinths of limited fact to age fourteen. The rest is left to the better-off people, plus some more clever ones, who go on learning for eight years more. The Social Pyramid has been affected by the huge rise of Trades Unions, Labour Party, Co-op, but not so much as many expected; the structure is firmly rooted to withstand minor blasts. A few office boys become Ministers or Lords. A few. And on their painful climb up the pyramid, their knees become so toughened that they readily take to Court breeches. The higher, the dizzier—at each upward stage conforming to the extra, more expensive conventions at that height. The story of Ramsay MacDonald, Philip Snowden, and J. H. Thomas is quite well known. Victims of social giddiness, their fingers delicately fluttering round the handle of a coffee cup, they "forgot their places" and distorted an effort on the part of democracy to produce *from the masses* leaders

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with some knowledge of the masses. Their action was no "treachery." It was only a logical development. At every stage away from the ordinary, first as a shop steward, then a minor Trades Union official, then Ward Councillor, Alderman, Mayor, Union Secretary, M.P., Privy Councillor, Cabinet Minister, the leader changes his accent and appearance almost imperceptibly, gets farther away from the place where he began—has less and less contact with the masses, has a better house. The 1937 *Who's Who* starts off about Mr. Thomas: ". . . commenced work at nine years of age as an errand boy; from that to engine-cleaner, and stage to stage as fireman and engine-driver."

Stage to stage is the British climb, like the working man in Jack Warner's famous war-time song, "Up and Down the Railway Lines," a wheel-tapper who won a football pool and bought the railway station on the proceeds. Of the four Parliamentary leaders of Labour to-day, three are traditional A class, one an old Etonian (Dr. Hugh Dalton). Among the dozen most prominent Communists are three Etonians, two members of the traditional aristocracy. The two popular new figures who have emerged in British leadership since the war are Sir Stafford Cripps, son of a peer, and Capt. Oliver Lyttelton, old Etonian member of an "ancient family" and himself married to the daughter of a Duke. The man to whom the country turned in its hour of greatest crisis was son of Lord Randolph Churchill and grandson of the Duke of Marlborough. The men from below do not surge up and overthrow; they take their gradual places near the top. The key to contemporary British politics is largely to be found in the difficulty that the working-classes have in finding representatives who will not go over to the other, A and B class party, as MacDonald and Snowden did; the C and D party therefore tends to fall back on traditionally A leadership.

Some term this upward respect and imitation "snobbishness." The word *snob* was first used as the slang name for cobblers; then by Cambridge undergraduates to describe "townees" (so-called nowadays). Thence it was applied to those who *had no pretensions to gentility*—i.e. it was used descriptively by A about D. From this it developed an inverted meaning, to cover those whose pretensions to gentility were *unwarranted but marked*—i.e. anyone used it about anybody else unjustifiably appearing "above his station," a crude pyramid climber.

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VII. CLASS UNCONSCIOUSNESS?

By now it will be clear that so far as Mass-Observation studies go, the degree of "class consciousness" (in the sense in which the phrase has so often been used in the past) does not appear to be as high as has been widely suggested. There is, however, one major qualification required here. Class consciousness is higher the higher we go up the income scale, and when we reach the extreme upper limit of A, the 0.3 per cent. of the population who before the war possessed 42 per cent. of the wealth, there is real "consciousness" of class. By this I mean a feeling of exclusiveness and, associated with it, a real fear, mostly implicit but lately more explicit, of "the lower classes." Class consciousness in Britain to-day is largely this A consciousness of the existence of others less fortunate, to whom they frequently attribute an exaggerated envy and menace. The basis of this fear lies in the material pleasures which the better-off enjoy and the assumption that these things, so necessary to them, are enviously coveted by others; but partly also it is a fundamental misunderstanding of the drives in C and D life. The A-B trend in Britain for some time back has been towards a slowly increasing realization of the responsibility for poverty. Now it is growing rapidly, because A people believe that if they continue to ignore such responsibility, D will eventually be angered and overthrow them.

The A feeling of insecurity has been accentuated by the increasing amount of unfavourable comment that has been made about it. Colonel Blimp has become an unpopular symbol; so has the "old school tie." A prestige is undoubtedly weakening, especially since the war. The British radio traitor is universally called *Lord* Haw Haw, not Mister. Yet too much importance should not be attached to this sort of ridicule, any more than to ridicule of the charlady and the taxidriver. No one has said anything against General Wavell because he is the son of a Major-General. Few fighting figures are more popular than Lord Louis Mountbatten of the Commandos, cousin of the King. The King and Queen can draw the crowds anywhere in the country without any risk of a rude shout or gesture. Simpsons in the Strand still sell more old Harrovian ties to grammar-school boys than to Old Harrovians—they keep two brands, and offer you one or the other according to whether they think you are actual or ambitious.

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In my experience, then, the people who are most class conscious are the people who are most conscious of the advantages of "class," the personal disadvantages of becoming de-classed. The main class struggle of Britain is the struggle to be more class. There is a constant fear of sinking, especially among B people, "*lower middle-class*," where the income is just enough to provide some A privileges (like a small car and secondary-school education for the children), and where a tiny economic change may bring down the edifice of appearance.

Everyone is ready to move up a little, or look up a little; but not down. It is the highly skilled workman in industry who is most critical of the pyramid structure to-day, because he has gone up rather suddenly and is at present in a "strong position," while at the same time afraid that after the war he will slide down again. The existence of this type (symbolized for many employers by outspoken Mr. Jack Tanner, President of the Amalgamated Engineering Union) is a threat to the old structure of industry, in the employers' eyes. Speaking at a recent Oxford Conference, Mr. Tanner charged employers with "cold unreason, gross arrogance, and class distinction"—that is to say, the C blamed the A for class consciousness. In the upper fringes of C this attitude is growing, assisted by the vast war-time changes in industrial relationships. The mass of people are more disturbed in their minds than they have been for a very long time; they are doing more thinking about the order of society in which they live. But *so far* this has not attached itself to blaming the fundamental structure on any clear-cut lines of group attitude. Within the sections generally termed "*working class*," there is little solidarity or observable consciousness of mutual identity and interest. These lower levels are numerically much larger than the higher levels, more localized, more restricted in outlook and conduct. In a cotton factory, the differences between different sections of workers within the factory are much more important than differences between the workers of the factory as a whole and the few rich people in Worktown. "Class war" between the spinner, the side-piecer, and the little piecer, all engaged on the same cotton operation as a team of three, produces one of the most severe forms of antagonism I have observed. In quite another direction we find strong feelings linking *all* the people in one area against all in another. Birkenhead and Liverpool feel strongly about each other's inferiority; the old Yorkshire-Lancashire

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antagonism is far from dead; Scottish Nationalism is strong and growing in the Highlands, irrespective of class. In Ulster the whole class situation is overlaid by the violent division of feeling between Protestants (Unionists) and Catholics (Nationalists) in politics; the result is a negligible Labour Party, the predominantly working-class vote split on religious lines. In Glasgow this year the Chief Constable was compelled to prohibit the annual Soccer match between the Roman Catholic team (Celtic) and the Protestant team (Rangers), owing to serious riots and fights among the crowd; this Celtic-Ranger division is a frequent source of bloodshed.

The "class war," in so far as it is based on the conception of class consciousness, is still—on the C and D side—something largely in the minds of a minority of usually intelligent and often ambitious persons, who sincerely desire to overthrow the existing pyramid and replace it with some different structure in which the mass of manual workers will not be "down" at the bottom. These people are politicians, not objective students. This does not mean that those who believe (or pretend) there is wide class consciousness in Britain may not presently prove to be "correct." The situation may come into existence, partly through their propaganda, partly through the march of world events, and largely also through the ignorance and prejudice of many A people about the problems of C and D—assisted by the failure of sociologists to report accurately and fully about C and D. A typical expression of the "class conscious" Labour leader, now in the minority in the Labour Party, is Raymond Postgate, until lately editor of the left-wing *Tribune*, economically and by upbringing A class. In a recent pamphlet sub-titled "An Argument about Socialism for the Unconverted," he says:

The class war, which we talk of and which you don't like, isn't something that we preach. It's not a row which the Socialist starts. It's just a dispassionate statement of what we see happening round us; we no more made it happen than we made winter cold.

Its most obvious form is the strike. There you see two interests up against each other; kind words won't remove the clash of interests, though they may help to settle any particular quarrel.

The strike is, of course, a significant industrial symbol. Like wars or feuds, marriages or matches, it commonly takes place between two sides, not three. This does not necessarily prove a *class* war any more than war with Germany necessarily proves Vansittartism; or a lover's quarrel necessarily proves sexual incom-

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patibility. A few words will often remove a clash of interests. One of the things that has most surprised industrialists in this war is to find that wherever they can overcome their fear of C and D enough to allow meetings of representatives of management and workers as a Works Committee, an hour or two a month round a table, the effect, not only on labour disputes but on the whole of the factory's morale and output, can be excellent. Industry more than anything else has preserved a dichotomy between management on the one side, the worker on the other. The dichotomy has been primarily stressed by the management side, and in our recent Production study (6) we gave numerous examples of the way in which many managements are still afraid of allowing their workers to meet and discuss with them regularly on anything except purely wage matters. But the pressures of war (the first time Britain has ever had to attempt *total* mobilization of resources in the common interest) force new experiments even on the unwilling. Unwilling, over-class conscious employers are amazed at the result. An increasing number of "progressive-minded" firms are finding how much they can reduce industrial friction within their factories by welfare schemes, by developing loyalties within the firm and by producing a group consciousness around the factory unit, reaching from the Managing Director down to the lowest unskilled girls. These loyalties—which can now be found in a number of the biggest concerns in the country—cut vertically across the horizontal interests of income groups.

The structure of Britain satisfies in some ways an almost universal and usually "healthy" human urge: the urge and incentive of personal progress, symbolically upward. But this pyramid structure has not proved sufficiently elastic and adaptable to new conditions, and is currently subject to unparalleled pressure. If it cannot be modified, it must be swept away and rebuilt on modern lines, or we shall all perish in the collapsing ruins of a funereal monument.

The feudal structure of the baronial dining-board, with its simple class dichotomy of "above the salt" and below it, has been fading for centuries. Over the centuries, and especially since industrialism, a new grouping of property, power, and purpose has obliterated, merged, and obscured the simpler distinctions. But the underlying assumption, graded into numerous strata, persists. The objective student of society cannot fail to record "looking upwards" as still very important in 1943. There is one public-house left in Worktown

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where the Vault and the Lounge are a continuation of the same room, with an invisible line separating the two. On one side of the line you may stand and spit and swear, in the Vault. Step a pace east, and you are above the spit, in the Lounge, where your beer will cost a penny more. And this is the oldest pub in Worktown, dating back to the village days, when it was the hostelry beside the market-place where an early Earl of Derby was publicly executed for his part in civil war (against the Crown), and where his descendant is held in the very highest Worktown respect to-day.

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THE SOCIAL BASIS OF PHYSICAL PLANNING—II ¹

By ROBERT E. DICKINSON

TOWN TYPES: THE METROPOLIS

IN the nineteenth century came the great concentration of industries in special localities, near to seats of raw materials, or where these materials could be cheaply assembled. The overwhelming majority of these industrial centres were simply dovetailed on to the existing pre-industrial towns, which had come into being in the Middle Ages, primarily as service centres, and secondarily as seats of handicraft industries. In this way the old towns were transformed in functional character and size so that industries become dominant, and the centralized services secondary, in their functional structure. Entirely modern urban communities, such as coal-mining, dormitory, and health-resort communities, which have been planted in the countryside but have no fundamental relations with it, are even more unifunctional in character. The centralized services, however, together with the local services, such as distributive trades, building trades, transport services, laundrying, and confectionery, have increased greatly in the last decades, owing to the rising standard of living of the urban populations, as well as to the general increase in the number and complexity of the centralized services. Unifunctional towns are deficient in many of the centralized services, which they must perforce draw from a neighbouring and larger city. There are, however, many towns which possess a nice balance of all these functions, since they are especially closely integrated with the surrounding countryside. These towns include the numerous country-market towns with populations from 2,500 to 10,000. Especially characteristic is the county town, which is a historic capital, endowed with a variety of modern industries, and is the chief centre for the activities and organization of the satellite market towns in its tributary district. The large cities owe their *raison d'être* as great urban agglomerations primarily to the concentration of industry, but they have also become, in varying degree, outstanding centres of centralized services, proportional to their importance as the capitals of the economic, social, and cultural life of the country and towns around them. Such a large city may be said

¹ The first part of this study appeared in the previous number of THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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to be fully *metropolitan* "when most kinds of products of the district are concentrated in it for trade as well as transit; when these products are paid for by wares that radiate from it; and when the necessary financial transactions included in this exchange are provided by it."¹ It will have a population considerably larger than that of surrounding towns; it will be an independent centre of trade, with a large variety of regional industries and a large wholesale business; it will be a financial centre; and, finally, a cultural and administrative centre. A really distinctive feature of the build of the metropolitan city is the central business district—variously named the core, the city, the down-town district—in which the centralized services are concentrated. This district is characterized by the great congestion and mixture of its buildings, the dominance of shops, offices, and warehouses and public buildings, often grouped in separate districts, its gradual lateral expansion, its low night population, and the great daily ebb and flow of workers to and from the residential districts. The term "city-building" is now in international usage to describe this process of concentration in the centre of the great city.

THE LOCATION OF NEW TOWNS: THE SERVICE FACTOR

Dispersal of population from the great cities calls for the creation of new towns and the further growth of existing small country towns.²

The new town is thrust, as it were, into the warp and woof of service relations, which are integrated in the surrounding existing towns through the medium of shops, churches, schools, hospitals, cinemas, newspapers, etc. Moreover, the new town is usually an industrial community and its services cater primarily for the town workers and their families. It is not concerned directly with services for the farmer or the villager in the surrounding district, except in so far as it offers a market for food supplies. Thus the new town is *in* the country but not *of* it in the same sense as an old country-market town, although as its services grow in size and variety it may gradually draw upon a wider clientèle in competition with its neighbours.

The existing market town has the advantage of being closely linked with the surrounding country, it has a tradition and is a

¹ N. S. B. Gras, *An Introduction to Economic History*, 1922, p. 186.

² See the Report of the Scott Committee on *Land Utilization in Rural Areas* (1942) on this whole question.

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“going-concern.” The steady decline of many small towns also suggests that there is scope for renewed growth; this has indeed been effected in some cases, as in the shift of printing and textile industries from London to small country-market towns in East Anglia and elsewhere. Provided the size was limited to the 25,000 mark there would not seem to be any serious economic difficulty in the further development of such towns, although, without new legislation, there would be difficulties to overcome if the same measure of control was sought over the whole town as is enjoyed by the authority in control of the new town on virgin land.

It is generally agreed that in order to support all the normal urban amenities, a town should have a minimum population of 10,000 to 15,000. In a town of this size, the buildings catering for the centralized services can be grouped in one civic centre. But when above the 25,000 figure, a community begins to lose its cohesion as one unit and to split into separate neighbourhood groups, and the planner must then seek a lay-out of residential districts and public-service buildings which will serve the needs both of the whole community and of the neighbourhood groups. The solution of this problem depends upon the basic conception of the town. Assuming that the ideal town is circular with a radius of one mile, so that the inhabitants can quickly reach all parts on foot, then the Garden City ideal of five houses (with garden) per acre will give a population of 35,000, whereas the City ideal of multi-storeyed apartments with the same apportionment of open spaces, would have a maximum of 150,000 inhabitants.¹ A town of the latter size and structure is obviously in a far better position to provide and support the full and best amenities of modern civilization than a smaller Garden City, which must perforce depend upon a large metropolitan city—this, indeed, is the essence of the idea of a “satellite city.”

THE INDUSTRIAL FACTOR

Since most of the new towns will be grouped primarily around new factories, their location will also be determined, in varying degree, by the factors which condition the location of industry. During the nineteenth century the location of industry was conditioned by two major physical considerations, sea-board location to supply overseas markets, and location on the coalfields. During the last fifty years two new changes have affected the location of

¹ Thomas Sharp, *Town and Countryside*, 1932, p. 175.

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industry—the development of electricity, which permits the wider distribution of power, and the growth of miscellaneous luxury industries, providing consumer goods for the home market, which are “mobile” or “foot-loose” in the sense that they can be located in a wide variety of sites and districts. These new conditions set a great premium on nodality, for many of these industries can now be more profitably located in inland nodal centres than in coastal locations or on coalfields. Professor Eva G. R. Taylor¹ writes that: “The distribution of industry now no longer fits the distribution of the industrial population and we have (as a consequence) distressed areas and lopsided urban growth,” so that “the fundamental question that has to be decided is whether industry is to be forced or cajoled back into the old distribution pattern, or whether the industrial population is to be assisted to adjust itself to a new one.”

A framework for such a new pattern has been put forward by Professor Taylor. An axial belt extending across England, from Lancashire to Kent and covering 40 per cent. of England and Wales, includes nearly the whole of English industry. At the ends of this belt are the great ports of London and Liverpool-Manchester, which handle two-thirds of the foreign trade of England and Wales. The chief industrial areas outside it, the North-east and South Wales, both with sea-board locations, both primarily coal producers, are “depressed” or “special areas.” There is also a general scatter of the industrial population in the county and country-market towns. Professor Taylor has also marked in black on one map the areas which are not immediately suitable for industry owing to: (i) their rugged relief; (ii) their scanty population; or (iii) poor accessibility from a large metropolitan city. The areas excluded on this basis as potential seats of industry are the South-west, the Scottish Highlands, and much of Northern England. The areas which come out “positive” in these three respects form an axial belt extending from Lancashire and Cheshire to Greater London. Separate areas are the Vale of Glamorgan, the North-east, Hull, and Southampton. Elsewhere there are numerous small towns where the conditions are also positive. This axial belt roughly corresponds with the main concentration of industrial workers and of the greatest density of population (over 200 persons per square mile), and thus contains the main pools of labour. All areas in this belt, however, are not

¹ Eva G. R. Taylor on “The Geographical Distribution of Industry,” and Memorandum on *Geographical Factors relevant to the Location of Industry*, R.G.S. evidence to the Royal Commission, in the *Geographical Journal*, Vol. XCII, 1938, pp. 22-39 and 499-526.

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suited on other grounds for the location of factories and towns, for, outside the great areas which are already built-up, land must be reserved for residential, recreational, and, above all, agricultural use. New factories placed outside these areas would involve the shift of population and the creation of towns from scratch or the establishment of factories in existing villages or small towns.¹

THE STRUCTURE OF THE CITY: THE PATTERN OF URBAN GROWTH

We come next to the problem of the physical and social structure of the large urban agglomeration, and of its relations with the country and towns around it.

A hypothetical pattern of urban growth was described by E. W. Burgess, the Chicago sociologist, in 1923.² This hypothesis has been accepted, by American researchers, as proven on the authority of its author, and has been accepted by some as a basis of investigation of individual cities. The essence of this pattern was supposed to be the tendency of any town or city to expand radially from its centre so as to form a series of circular concentric zones as follows: (1) the central business district; (2) a zone of transition and social deterioration, which is being invaded by business and light manufacture; (3) the workers' housing and factory zone; (4) the residential zone of high-class apartment buildings or single-family dwellings; (5) the commuters' zone of suburban areas and satellite cities within a journey of thirty to sixty minutes of the central business district. The main feature of expansion in this pattern is "the tendency of each inner zone to extend its area by the invasion of the next outer zone." This pattern of urban land use is reflected, continues Burgess, in the social structure. "In the expansion of the city a process of distribution takes place which sifts and sorts and relocates individuals and groups by residence and occupation," and "this differentiation into natural economic and cultural groupings gives form and character to the city," since "these areas tend to accentuate certain traits, to attract and develop their kind of individual

¹ In this connexion we may note the conclusion of the Scott Committee that "no modern factory can be located in a village—without the village changing character and becoming in fact a small town. On the other hand, the small country town suggests itself as a suitable place for small industrial units" (p. 67). The Committee also received evidence that factories have been successfully established in small towns with a population of 2,000 to 5,000, where there has been a gradual fusion of the social life of industrial and rural workers (p. 67).

² Burgess, E. W., "The Growth of the City," Chapter II, in *The City*, by Park, R. E., and Burgess, E. W., Chicago, 1925. Originally published as an article in *Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. XVIII, 1923, pp. 85-9.

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and so to become further differentiated.”¹ This process of differentiation is accepted by students of urban ecology, but not the pattern of concentric zones, which is merely a hypothesis. Studies of Chicago itself, upon which this hypothesis was based, and of many other American and European cities, show clearly that the tendency for concentric zones to grow around a single central nucleus, in respect of both land use and social structure, is counterbalanced by the topography of the site, circumstances of historical development, and, above all, by the existence of the main industrial and transport areas, adjacent to which there are areas of workers’ houses of low economic level just as around the city nucleus. Burgess made clear one important feature of urban growth, but not a general explanation of its character and trends.

LAND-USE ZONES

British cities have certain broad common features in their physical lay-out. These general features are common knowledge. The pre-industrial nucleus has become the central business district, the “City,” an area of shops, offices, public buildings and warehouses, which is the hub of the communications of the whole urban area. It is congested, with few public open spaces, little or no open spaces inside the buildings blocks, and with multi-storeyed buildings. It also has a very high day density of population, and a small decreasing night population. Around the City there occur dilapidated border zones, in which old residential properties are being converted gradually to office use or demolished to make way for the expansion of the central business district. Factories built in the nineteenth century are concentrated on the less desirable and therefore cheaper land, both along the rivers or canals and along the railway tracks. Adjacent to these were built the monotonous areas of working-class houses or tenements, at a time when proximity to the factory was essential when workers had to go to work on foot. The back-to-back house is especially typical of the English town. Better-class Victorian residences are sandwiched between these areas, usually near to the City but on higher land. Such houses are now dilapidated, and let as “rooms,” “flats,” shops, and offices—the commercial use being especially marked on the borders of the City. After 1900, the town began to spread its tentacles on the routes far into the country. The twentieth century has presented us with

¹ Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

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Suburbia, with its serried arrays of semi-detached villas, council estates, ribbon extensions, derelict farm land awaiting sale to builders, and occasional examples of so-called "Garden City" developments. New factories, too, have been established on the railways and the roads of the urban outskirts, these being in part old firms which have shifted from a site in the City, or entirely new concerns. Thus, each city has a wide rural-urban fringe, characterized by the disorderly impact of urban land uses on the countryside, and recording an alarming increase of population in recent years.

This expansion of the urban area has been effected by individual enterprise with little or no attempt at control. The establishment of churches, schools, shops, and civic centres has been left to private enterprise. Town planning has gone no further than defining land-use zones for directing future development. The ideal of the Garden City, as expanded in Ebenezer Howard's notable book, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow* (1898), has degenerated into a House-Garden or Town-Country complex, which, through the lack of controlled development, now presents us with sprawling built-up areas of single-family houses with gardens, which, in the words of Thomas Sharp, spell "the ruin of urbanity," since they do not enjoy the full amenities either of urban or of rural life.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ZONES

Within the built-up area of the city, there are distinct socio-economic zones, each of which has a common economic and social structure.

The determination of these zones must be based on the detailed analysis of the facts of land use and of economic and social life, and, above all, on the presentation of these facts on maps. In many cases such socio-economic zones will in large measure be coterminous with marked breaks in the physical structure—e.g. rivers, railroad tracks, and factory belts, which isolate, and foster relations within, the areas they enclose. This mode of approach has been adopted for many American cities by American sociologists. But the idea of the socio-economic zone as a geographical unit seems to have been neglected in the social surveys of English towns. In Chicago, for instance, the "social base" map, showing industrial and transport properties, parks, and residential areas, has served as a framework for the understanding of the pattern of social behaviour of the

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individual. The geographical incidence of juvenile delinquency, prostitution, criminality, etc., the social pattern of "hobohemia" and the "rooming districts" have been examined within this framework. Social surveys of English towns are primarily concerned with the facts of economic and social structure. They accept the local government unit as the smallest unit of investigation, and little attempt has been made to map the data or to work out the character and extent of socio-economic zones within these units. The reports of Regional Planning Committees give nothing but passing reference in brief introductory chapters to these basic considerations, but it is on such a basis only that the town can be understood and rebuilt.¹

The general mode of procedure in such a survey of a city is well established by many American studies, though it is beyond the scope of this paper to deal with the detailed problems involved in such a survey. We may instance the general procedure adopted in a recent American survey of Newhaven.² First, land use was plotted in the field for every building lot, the classification including single-family, two-family, and multi-family dwellings, commercial buildings, light industry, heavy industry, railroad property, parks and playgrounds, public property and open spaces. Second, these detailed base maps were generalized, on the basis of the percentage of street-frontage devoted to the major categories of urban land use—residential, commercial, industrial, transport, recreational, and institutional. Third, areas which had the same predominant use or combination of uses were shown on a third map. These areas were called the "natural areas" of the city, though we must reject this vague term and call them simply land-use areas. Fourth, the analysis of the socio-economic structure began with the mapping, by exact place of residence, of such facts as density of population, nationality, income, delinquency, dependency, and names included on the social registers (indicating social and professional status).³

¹ An interpretation on these lines will be found in the third volume of the *Merseyside Survey*, Chapter XIX. In the Inner Districts, with their slum areas, there is a coincidence of high birth-rates, overcrowding, and other social phenomena, such as alcoholism and criminality. For a discussion of this subject see David Glass's interesting book *The Town*, in the Twentieth Century Library, 1935.

² Maurice R. Davie, "The Pattern of Urban Growth," an essay in *Studies in the Science of Society*, edited by G. P. Murdock, 1937, pp. 133-61. See also Robert E. Dickinson, "Chicago: Ville-metropole et sa Region," *La Vie Urbaine*, 1934.

³ A further line of investigation would be to examine, as for villages and towns in the country, the service areas of subsidiary business centres, churches, and schools.

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These facts were first plotted separately on a series of maps, and then the maps superimposed and it was found that "to a remarkable extent the various area boundaries coincided." In this way socio-economic zones were defined and their boundaries were marked on the map of the land-use areas. Lastly, by combining the two sets of areas, twenty-five composite "natural areas," or, as we prefer to call them, urban regions, were discovered (excluding the central business district and the industrial areas). In nearly all cases it was found that physical barriers, such as railways, water, high land, and industrial belts, divided the regions from each other, radial streets usually acting as arteries rather than as boundaries of the regions.

The cosmopolitan American city, owing to its ethnically mixed population and its very rapid growth and expansion, reveals all these features with special clarity, and has been a good laboratory for such investigation. It is not suggested, however, that the whole of the American, nor of the British city, can be divided into clearly defined socio-economic zones, nor that different social and economic facts are coincident in their limits, or that these facts necessarily coincide with types of residential land use. Indeed, it will frequently occur that large areas—as, for example, in the vast estates of the modern city—have little neighbourhood homogeneity. But the discovery of this fact in certain areas, i.e. lack of communal activity and organization, is a negative discovery of the greatest significance for the planner. There seems to be little doubt that the social unity of an area is rooted in similarity of economic level, and partly in the measure of its physical separateness, but above all in the neighbourliness of its people, with respect to their social and commercial institutions. The last is least developed in the new built-up areas, but is frequently remarkably strong in slum areas.

When our urban areas are rebuilt—and this now becomes a real post-war necessity—the lay-out of new dwellings, be they houses or flats, must be conditioned by the provision of community services—public meeting places, churches, shops, etc. Services in the heart of the cities, like hospitals and churches, built at a time when their clientèle was near them, are now wrongly placed from the standpoint of efficiency and service, and should be shifted to the city outskirts. Community services must be provided for existing suburban estates, and new planned areas in the city centre should be so designed as to cater fully for these needs. The unit area of urban

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life must permit the growth of the community sense which exists in the slums. The size of this planned "city-village" should be no larger than the rural unit, i.e. about 1,500-2,000 inhabitants, or about 400 to 500 structurally separate dwellings, either in houses or flats, together with the community services—schools, church, clinic, pub., and social club rooms, and playing space, both in and out doors. We want no more Dagenham estates or Kennington flats. This urban neighbourhood unit could be adopted in either the existing city or in the newly planned town.

In order to determine and characterize the zonal differentiation in the life and organization of the large urban community, we require a set of maps for each city with over 100,000 inhabitants (the size beyond which such differentiation becomes marked), produced on a standard scale with a standardized set of symbols. Base maps would be prepared on the 6-inch scale, but it is probable that the 1 : 25,000 would be the best standard map.¹ Essential maps in each series would be the following. (1) Historical Map, showing the stages in the expansion of the city. (2) Map of the proportion of land which is built-up, on the basis of a small unit area, such as the block. (3) Land-use Map, to show public buildings, factories, retail, wholesale, and office properties, and types of residential property. (4) Population Map, to show the distribution and density of population, on a shading or symbol basis, block by block. (5) Socio-economic Map, based on key criteria, such as wage levels, age and sex composition, numbers of children and domestic servants per cent. of population. Such data are not available in this country for small districts, not even for wards, so that they would have to be obtained from sample family returns. (6) Social-service Map, to show the location of institutional centres like churches, clubs, and schools, and the distribution, by exact place of residence, of their regular members. (7) Urban-regions Map. This composite map could be produced on a scale of 1 : 25,000 (2½ inches to a mile) for each city, accompanied by a short monograph describing the special aspects enumerated above.

The mapping of these data raises many problems of observation and recording in the field, as well as the cartographical problem of mapping the data in the office—and specially skilled workers would be needed. The main drawback to such work is the absence of the

¹ A good example of this type of analysis is contained in *Southampton: A Civic Survey*, edited by P. Ford (1931), notably Chapter III, on "Land Utilization," by O. H. T. Rishbeth.

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detailed census data; the addition of statistics for the large cities by small districts, as is done in the census of cities in the United States, would greatly facilitate such research. Moreover a central body is required to collect and collate what material exists and then to proceed systematically to a survey of our great cities on the same lines as the Land Utilization Survey has studied rural areas.

WHERE AND WHAT IS THE CITY LIMIT?

A city does not live for itself alone. It is closely allied with its neighbours, physically and functionally, by brick and mortar as well as by services. The term *conurbation* was coined in the first place to describe an agglomeration of contiguous built-up administrative areas. It has recently been described by Professor C. B. Fawcett as "an area occupied by a continuous series of dwellings, factories, and other buildings, harbour and docks, urban parks and playing-fields, etc., which are not separated from each other by rural land; though in many cases in this country such an urban area includes enclaves of rural land which is still in agricultural occupation."¹ In Great Britain, the same writer continues, the largest of these "conurbations" have usually been formed by the growth and expansion, and often the coalescence, of neighbouring towns, but usually one town is so far dominant as to give the name to the whole "conurbation," like Greater Manchester or Birmingham. In Great Britain there are seven such "conurbations" each with over one million people, and there are thirty others with over 100,000 people each. A "conurbation," by this definition, ends where the compact area of urban land use ends. In fact, owing to the wide sphere of geographical influence of the city and its suburban expansion, it is quite impossible to define the urban limit on any one basis. The urban area, especially in Britain, is *not* compact. On its borders the open patches become wider and wider, and small towns, residential estates, and villages form separate units, so that it is impossible to define the limit of the urban aggregate on the brick-and-mortar basis only, and it is extremely doubtful whether this is the most significant limit in the life and organization of the urban community. This fact is generally recognized by scholars who have studied particular cities, notably on the Continent, and the idea of the "conurbation" is regarded as vague and misleading.

¹ C. B. Fawcett, "The Distribution of the Urban Population in Great Britain, 1931," *Geographical Journal*, Vol. LXXIX, 1932, p. 100.

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It is generally agreed that the limit of the suburban area—"the commuting area" to use the American term—is an important limit of the city. This limit may be taken as a journey-time of about one hour, allowing 15–30 minutes for reaching home or factory at either end. This area extends farther than the compact brick-and-mortar limit of the "conurbation." The influence of the city extends still farther, for the products of its markets, warehouses, and department stores, and the business connexions of its banks and offices, and the circulation of its newspapers, and the patronage of its cultural activities, extend to the towns and villages over a much wider field, a tributary area which is usually loosely referred to as its "Region."

THE IDEA OF REGIONALISM

The prominence given by public attention to the idea of the Region is the spontaneous expression of an urgent need in the life and organization of modern society. The great mobility of modern society in Europe and America and the complex structure of modern society, mean that new areas of organization are needed for all aspects of national life, and that the existing pattern of local-government areas has been outmoded by wider areal organizations and acts as a deterrent to the efficient functioning of public services. The idea of the Region has also developed in relation to the movement for the decentralization of authority from the central national government to a limited number of provinces, which would relieve the central government of its too onerous responsibilities, foster the development of local responsibility in the truest democratic tradition, and maintain provincial or regional differences of tradition and culture.

This movement began in France, and has assumed prominence more recently in Britain and Germany. In France, regionalism had an early and energetic start, as a means of offsetting the excessive centralization of affairs in Paris and giving greater scope to regional culture and traditions. Numerous schemes have been put forward during the past fifty years for the division of France into Regions, and many treatises written on the theory of regionalism and the practical form it should take. At one stage there was a possibility that new Regions would displace the Departments as administrative units. Although this movement was abortive, Regional Associations of the Chamber of Commerce were established in 1917. In Britain, attention to the question was stimulated during the last war, when

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Fawcett's *Provinces of England* appeared. The present emergency and the need for national planning have again fostered public interest and government action in the whole question. In the United States the problem has been tackled especially on its factual side by sociologists and economists. Marketing areas, newspaper circulation areas, zones of influence of great cities, have been the subject of careful investigations, and the problem of the regional treatment of planning and resources development has been examined under the auspices of the National Resources Board, established in 1933. The problem has received a great deal of attention in Germany in the last twenty years, for here there exists on the one hand a political framework that, with its numerous territorial inliers and outliers, is a chaotic legacy from the past, and on the other hand a vast economic and social structure, not much more than half a century old, that has called into being new major units of life and orientation. Abortive attempts were made to recast the divisions in accordance with the Weimar Constitution of 1919. In the inter-war years numerous public authorities and scholars published the results of detailed investigations of various aspects of the general problem and of particular Regions, and the problem has been tackled on a grand scale under the Nazis.

TOWN PLANNING REGIONS

New areas of provincial government are needed larger than the counties, especially in the areas of greatest density of population where the county and other administrative boundaries cut across thickly peopled areas and the normal movement of traffic, and the areas of distribution of public utility supplies and of social and economic relations in general. The great question is what should be the extent of these regions, and on what criteria shall they be based?

The term Regional Planning is used in this country to describe an extension of Town Planning. It was realized soon after the Town Planning Act of 1909 that a unit larger than that of the single town was needed for planning the physical lay-out of large urban areas. The Town Planning Act of 1919 (supplanted by the Town and Country Planning Act of 1932) permitted the establishment of Joint Town Planning Committees, representing groups of Local Government Authorities. The term Town Planning Region is generally given to these larger areas. Such schemes have been pre-

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pared for most of the densely peopled areas in the "axial belt" and in the populous areas detached from it. But, since the regions were formed by voluntary co-operation of neighbouring authorities, they are often not effective units for long-term planning, since they cover only a part of an urban aggregate, or do not include the surrounding rural areas. Moreover, such Town Planning Regional Committees have only advisory powers. There exists no machinery to carry their recommendations into effect. The ultimate adoption of any proposal lies with the constituent local-government authorities, who may destroy a scheme owing to local jealousies. In any case the machinery of government is so cumbersome that all local-government measures have to be sanctioned by various central authorities in London. This is another reason for the demand for larger local-government units with powers of independent action.

PRACTICAL REGIONS

The whole of Britain—like France, Germany, and the United States—is divided into districts for an enormous variety of purposes.¹ These districts are of a fourfold character—for statistical purposes, for administration by Departments of State, for numerous trade and professional organizations—from the Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers to the Federation of British Industries—and for purposes of military and civil defence. These districts, defined as a rule quite independently of each other, vary greatly according to their purpose. Many are based on the counties; others adopt quite new boundaries; some are simply determined by the amount of business which a single office staff can conveniently handle; others hinge on the distribution of one or more occupations, on questions of accessibility and distribution of population. The country is divided into districts by numerous private concerns which have regional offices, depôts, or warehouses to facilitate nation-wide organization and service. This procedure is adopted by State Departments, by trade and professional organizations, and by business concerns, dealing in consumers' goods so as to ensure effective and regular contact with all retail dealers. Practically every aspect of business, commerce, and administration is now "regionalized" in this sense, with the services concentrated in the metropolitan cities. Particularly significant, as embracing a great variety of activities, and as therefore indicating

¹ E. W. Gilbert, "Practical Regionalism in England and Wales," *Geographical Journal*, Vol. XCIV, 1939, pp. 29-44.

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in large measure the extent of the most homogeneous units, are the regions of the Federation of British Industries and the Civil Defence Regions. It should also be noted that while these *ad hoc* regions differ widely from each other, many show a remarkable similarity in extent, especially around the great cities.

COMMERCIAL REGIONS

It will be clear from what we have now said, that there exist, in the countries of Western Civilization in general and in Britain in particular, areas which are unified by their economic inter-dependence and by the close interrelations of their parts, as is evidenced by the distribution of population, and the circulation of both persons and commodities. The diversity of economic activities and interest between the different parts of a country, the great mobility of our age and the consequent specialization of functions as between one place and another have led to the close integration of society on a geographical basis. Such areas have been appropriately called "circulation areas." Their focal points are the towns. In some cases the area is oriented towards one or more inland cities, or ports, e.g. Leeds and Bradford for Yorkshire, Manchester and Liverpool for Lancashire, Cheshire, and N. Wales. In others, as in predominantly rural areas, such as East Anglia, with many small towns, and a relatively small focal city, like Norwich, there is a rather diffuse network of commerce. It has become popular among British writers to define such regions in terms of the sphere of influence of their capital cities, and to try to define their limits in terms of "service watersheds." Such watersheds sometimes do exist when reinforced by high-lying physical watersheds which are also physical barriers. But in fact it is characteristic of the town as a service centre, as indicated in the previous article, that the variety and potency of its influence decrease with increased distance from the centre, so that a "watershed" as a "line," separating the tributary areas of adjacent cities, is in fact a figment of the imagination and does not exist in reality.

Moreover, there are large rural areas, such as Lincolnshire, which have no clear-cut allegiance with a single metropolitan city. In attempting to define the limits of metropolitan influence, we should consider not only the specific relationship of the border districts with the metropolis, but particularly the local associations of these districts with their nearest towns.

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Various schemes have been put forward recently for the division of Britain into Regions for purposes of government. There has been, however, little detailed analysis of the actual flow of goods and persons by routes and districts, and of the geographical aspects of the social and economic fabric upon which such Regions should be based. This is mainly due to the fact that the basic data are just not available. Such an attempt was made by the writer in a study of Leeds and Bradford as regional centres by a crude analysis of the areas served by these cities in their multifarious regional functions.¹ The same mode of approach was attempted in a general treatment of the zones of influence of the metropolitan cities of England and Wales.² But all such study in Britain is vitiated by the lack of accurate statistics. It was for this reason that the writer turned to the United States and the Continent in order fully to explore the idea.³ There is much scope for the detailed study of the socio-economic structure of our cities and the areas tributary to them, but statistical data and team work are essential to ensure worth-while results.

CONCLUSIONS

It would then appear that the analysis of the geographical structure of society, in town and country, with respect to the character and extent of the existing service and community areas, and to the minimum needs of the different types of services, be they social, commercial, cultural, or administrative, affords a sound and essential basis for the planning of communities in the city, the town, and the countryside. This, however, is not a problem for the geographer alone, nor for the economist, nor for the sociologist. It is a problem to which all the social sciences will make their contributions, and is likely to be one of the most fruitful fields of research in the social sciences in the ensuing years.

In Britain the problem of rural depopulation has been with us for almost a century, yet there is virtually no work on the analysis of the anatomy of the rural community on a geographical basis. The so-called "Regional Survey" as conceived by Sir Patrick Geddes

¹ R. E. Dickinson, "The Regional Functions and Zones of Influence of Leeds and Bradford," *Geography*, September 1930, pp. 548-57.

² Vide "The Commercial Functions of the Nuclei of the English Conurbations," *Sociological Review*, Vol. 21, 1929, pp. 38-49.

³ Vide "The Metropolitan Regions of the United States," *Am. Geog. Rev.*, Vol. XXIV, 1934, pp. 278-91, and "The Economic Regions of Germany," *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, 1938, pp. 609-26.

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has not provided the key to this research problem, since the scope of such a survey is all-embracing and lacks the clear attack of a single discipline with a single problem. There have appeared in recent years several thorough social surveys of urban areas modelled, in some measure, on Booth's famous survey of the *Life and Labour of the People in London* (1902). We may instance the studies of Merseyside and Southampton, the revision of Booth's study of London, and, even more recently, of Seeborn Rowntree's revised study of York and the survey of the Oxford district. But all these studies are concerned primarily with assessing and interpreting the facts of social and economic life for the city as a whole, and not with determining the character and extent of its component socio-economic zones, or, in other words, its types of social environment. The psychological and neighbourhood problems in their geographical aspects have been neglected, and it is precisely these aspects which are now coming to the fore, partly as the aftermath of the disorderly urban growth of the past, partly owing to the chaotic organization of local-government areas which has become evident in the stresses and strains of the present national emergency.

This field of research has developed tardily in Britain (and France) owing to the lack of clear perception of the main issues involved and of a systematic attack upon them; of a central co-ordination and drive; and of the necessary published data of the distributive trades, rail and road traffic data by small areas, and traffic density maps, upon which accurate studies of this character must be based; and owing to the reluctance of private concerns to divulge information of this nature which would (allegedly) be detrimental to their own interests. The present war has turned the attention of scientists, as in the last war, to the problems of internal reconstruction, and they are, in large measure, now facing the same unsolved problems. To-day one hears on all hands of planning and the launching of research on economic and social surveys of regions and cities, which shall serve as a basis of such planning. All specialists seem to be working towards the same goal from different points of view. In true British tradition, the problem is not looked at as a whole and attacked systematically; but is approached empirically, from special points of view in connexion with some particular problem—the shift of industry, the redistribution of population, and reconstruction of local-government areas. It is absolutely essential in the interests of efficiency, speed, and scholarship that the various

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points of view build up a common basis of attack and objective. City authorities are already drafting their post-war planning proposals. Evacuation and new factory developments have been undertaken without consideration of long-term effects on the life of the community. The future physical planning of town and country must reverse the procedure of the past (and present) and seek to base the future settlement upon sound principles of community life. Herein lie the opportunity and the duty of the social sciences—to elaborate principles and standards for the future planning of settlement on the land and in the towns, and for the re-organization of the local-government areas based, above all, upon a thorough analysis, district by district, of the existing structure of society in its geographical aspects.

JEWISH STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITIES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND— EXCLUDING LONDON, 1936-1939

A SURVEY

By GEOFFREY D. M. BLOCK

THE present article is the result of two surveys, made by the author, of Jewish students in Great Britain from 1936 till the eve of the War. The author must place on record his thanks to Lieut. Harry Schwab, R.A.S.C., of London and to Dr. Myer Makin of Birkenhead, without whose help in following up questionnaires these surveys could never have been made. The basis for establishing the number of Jewish students was the returns provided by the Secretaries of the constituent Jewish student societies of the Inter-University Jewish Federation or, where such societies did not exist, by competent persons in contact with the local Jewish students. The first survey made during the academic year 1936-7 covered nineteen Universities in Great Britain and Ireland. The second survey, which investigated certain details omitted by the former, covered eleven Universities in Great Britain during 1938-9. They are here referred to as "Survey I" and "Survey II." These surveys only dealt with those Jewish students who read a full-time course at an institute of University rank. Students at technical colleges, art-schools, etc., were not included, nor were the 7,617 external or part-time students of the British Universities. These latter, it is interesting to note, include extraordinarily few Jewish students; this is possibly an indication of the traditionally high position accorded to scholarship and education among Jews.

The total number of full-time Jewish students at the Universities of Great Britain and Ireland—excluding London—in 1936-7, as established by Survey I, was 943. This represents 2.12 per cent. of the relevant total student population of Great Britain (44,939 in 1936-7). Their distribution at the various Universities will be found in Table 1.¹ Survey II in 1938-9 showed a slight increase (by 1.64 per cent.) in the total of Jewish students at eleven of these Universities. This covered 85 per cent. of the provincial student

¹ If Jewish students from abroad are omitted from this table, the percentage is reduced to 1.8. The percentage of the total Jewish population to the total population of Great Britain is estimated at about 0.8 per cent.

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population; there are grounds, therefore, for assuming a slight general increase in the Jewish student population at the eve of the present War.

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITIES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND—
EXCLUDING LONDON, 1936-7

	No. of all Students.	No. of Jews.	Percentage.
Aberdeen	1,272	2	0.16
Aberystwyth	828	0	0.00
Bangor	598	0	0.00
Belfast	1,293	21	0.17
*Birmingham	1,522	28	1.88
Bristol	1,008	9	0.89
*Cambridge	6,196	125	2.02
*Cardiff	1,410	30	2.13
Cork	835	9	1.08
†Dublin	3,551	55	1.55
Durham	500	0	0.00
*Edinburgh	3,352	52	1.54
Exeter	372	3	0.81
Galway	622	0	0.00
*Glasgow	4,542	102	2.64
Hull	190	3	1.58
*Leeds	1,618	115	7.22
*Liverpool	2,140	85	3.94
*Manchester	2,687	100	3.72
§Newcastle	1,266	34	2.68
Nottingham	650	9	1.38
*Oxford	5,080	120	2.36
*Reading	708	16	2.26
St. Andrews	663	0	0.00
*Sheffield	776	21	2.70
Southampton	375	1	0.26
Swansea	685	3	0.44
TOTAL	44,939	943	2.12

* Denotes a Jewish Students' Society at this University.

† This includes Trinity College and the National University of Ireland (where there was only one Jewish student).

‡ The Jewish population of Leeds was proportionately the greatest in Britain, being 25,000 out of 458,320 or 5.49 per cent.

§ This includes Armstrong College, Newcastle and the College of Medicine, Newcastle. Strictly speaking, Newcastle is not a University, as these two colleges are affiliated to Durham University.

An indication of the students' interest in their Judaism is provided by the fact that, with three exceptions, Jewish student societies existed at every University where there were more than fifteen Jews. Their reports show that they were genuinely active bodies with a cultural programme. It can be asserted that the average Jewish student in Britain is as conscious of his Judaism as the average student of Western Europe or America; very probably more so. At Oxford and Cambridge, where there are no resident

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congregations, the students have for years had their own synagogues in which, without rabbinical assistance, they hold regular services every week in term. Correspondents in 1936-7 estimated that about 77 per cent. of their students were "conscious of their Jewishness." For Survey II, a more definite question was framed with a view to obtaining a more restricted if less subjective reply. This was, "How many students would be sufficiently interested to attend a meeting addressed by a prominent Jewish leader?" The replies indicated that 48 per cent. of the Jewish students would show an active interest of this nature, as distinguished from the "occasional conformity" of the Survey I estimate.

The economic structure of the Jewish student community was sounded in Survey II, as a result of which the proportion of Jewish students who held scholarships or other educational grants can be shown in the following table:

TABLE 2
JEWISH STUDENTS (BRITISH-BORN) WITH SCHOLARSHIPS OR GRANTS, 1938-9

	Total of Jewish Students.	Native- born.	Assisted Students (Jewish).
Birmingham	28	26	6
Cambridge	125	96	56
Cardiff	43	31	8
Edinburgh	52	17	12
Glasgow	102	92	80
Leeds	130	95	25
Liverpool	65	53	17
Manchester	105	85	65
Oxford	120	92	45
Reading	15	8	0
Sheffield	22	5	2
TOTAL	807	596	316
Percentage Assisted Students .	37.9	53.0	—

As will be seen, assisted students formed 37.9 per cent. of the total of Jewish students and 53 per cent. of the native-born Jewish students.

Through the kindness of Sir Walter Moberley, of the University Grants Committee, it has been possible to compare the proportion of assisted students with the proportion of assisted non-Jewish students. The figures for non-Jewish students are not strictly comparable as Sir Walter's figures almost certainly include some students "from abroad" among the "Assisted Students," whereas

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the Jewish figures only include native-born students, but the margin of error (say 10 per cent.) will not affect the general conclusions.

Jewish assisted students formed 2.5 per cent. of the total of assisted students at the eleven Universities. The percentage of native-born Jewish students who held grants was somewhat higher than that of native non-Jewish students, the ratio being 53.0 : 48.5. On the other hand, assisted students formed a smaller proportion of the *total* of Jewish students, native and foreign, than is the case among non-Jewish students; the ratio was 37.9 per cent. among Jews as against 45.0 per cent. among non-Jews.

This is due to the fact that the proportion of Jewish students from abroad was high. The assisted students among these students have not been included in the figures, but even if they were, they would not greatly affect the results, as many of them come from countries where awards and grants are not available for foreign study. In the case of students from Central and Eastern Europe, for instance, no Jewish student could hope to receive an educational grant from his government. In other cases, non-Jewish students came from Asia and the Near and Far East; the scale on which such governments as those of Thailand and Iran equipped their students abroad with grants was extremely generous. Students from the colonies in Africa, the Pacific, the West Indies, and elsewhere were also frequently assisted. There were no Jewish students in this survey from Asia (excluding Palestine and Iraq), Africa outside the Union and Egypt, or from areas like the Pacific and Caribbean colonies. As a result, the proportion of assisted students among the non-Jewish students, native and foreign, was 45.0 per cent. and only 37.9 per cent. among Jewish students (native and foreign). The difference between the position of the native Jewish students and foreign Jewish students is shown in an extreme form at Sheffield, where among the non-Jews 47.3 per cent. of all the students and 52.0 per cent. of the British-born students were assisted students, whereas among the Jewish students, only 9 per cent. of all the students but 40 per cent. of the British-born students were assisted students.

The proportion of Jewish students receiving assistance in relation to non-Jewish varied from University to University, ranging from the low figures at Leeds and Cardiff where 19 per cent. of all Jewish students were assisted, as against 48.7 per cent. (Leeds) and 62.4 per cent. (Cardiff) among all non-Jewish students, to the very high

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ratio of 78 per cent. assisted Jewish students as against 53·13 per cent. non-Jewish students (total figure) at Glasgow.¹

To sum up, owing to the proportion of students from abroad who were unendowed, the percentage of Jewish students with scholarships or grants was lower than among non-Jewish students. Of the native Jewish students, the proportion of assisted students varied from University to University, being slightly higher than among non-Jewish students in the aggregate. As this difference is only one of 4·5 per cent. and the figures of Table 2 cover 85 per cent. of the provincial Jewish student population, not the whole of it, there would not appear to be sufficient grounds to deduce that the economic conditions from which Jewish students in Great Britain were drawn were more stringent than among non-Jews. It may be noted that at Oxford the proportion of assisted Jewish students is rather less than of assisted non-Jewish students and at Cambridge the proportion is approximately equal.

The different subjects read by Jewish students were analysed in Survey I. Table 3 tabulates the subjects read by a representative group of 768 Jewish students at the different Universities. The heading "Science" includes one student of Veterinary Science² (at Edinburgh) and a few students of Pharmacy. The heading "Arts" includes students of Oriental Languages at Oxford, Cambridge, and Cardiff (who number only five) and two students of Fine Arts, one at Nottingham and one at Newcastle.

The numbers of Jewish students reading Economics at the Universities was investigated in greater detail by Survey II, as this subject had previously been returned under the heading "Arts." Inquiry into this subject at eleven Universities revealed that Economics was not popular as a main subject among Jewish students at the provincial Universities. This is perhaps surprising, but the returns revealed only 26 Jewish students reading Economics as a main subject (about 3·3 per cent. of the total at the Universities concerned). It should be noted that 20 of these students were concentrated at Cambridge and Oxford and at the latter University "P.P.E.," which is the course read, is not a pure Economics course.

¹ In Glasgow, where Jewish students were important numerically, there was a high proportion of assisted Jewish students. If Glasgow is omitted from the Table the ratio of 53 per cent. : 48·5 per cent. (native-born Jewish students to native non-Jewish students) is reversed, becoming 34·4 per cent. : 47·2 per cent.

² This student was an Australian. Two other Jewish students—one Palestinian and one Scottish—of this subject were reported at the West of Scotland Veterinary College, but they do not rank as University students.

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TABLE 3

SUBJECTS READ BY A REPRESENTATIVE GROUP OF 768 JEWISH STUDENTS, 1936-7

	Medicine and Dentistry.	Arts.	Law.	Science.	Engine- ing and Tech- nology.	Agricul- ture and Forestry.	Com- merce.	Mathe- matics.	Arch- itecture.
Belfast	15	2	2	—	1	1	—	—	—
Birmingham	7	8	2	1	1	—	8	—	—
Bristol	5	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Cambridge	9	40 ¹	11	5	—	—	—	5	1
Cardiff	14	9	3	3	—	—	—	—	—
Cork	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dublin	48	3	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
Edinburgh	38	5	1	5	—	1	2	—	—
Glasgow	70	14	8	7	2	1	—	—	—
Hull	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Leeds	70	15	7	8	7	1	—	—	—
Liverpool	54	7	16	1	2	—	3	—	2
Manchester	40	10	20	10	5	—	—	—	—
Newcastle	20	10	1	3	—	—	—	—	—
Nottingham	—	1	—	—	8	—	—	—	—
Oxford	1	33 ¹	9	4	—	2	—	1	—
Reading	—	—	—	—	—	16	—	—	—
Sheffield	11	4	1	—	4	—	—	—	—
Swansea	—	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
	408	167	84	51	30	22	13	6	3

¹ The 73 Arts students at Oxford and Cambridge are distributed thus:

	Cambridge.	Oxford.	Total.
Economics and P.P.E.	11	9	20
History	9	9	18
Classics	5	5	10
English	8	2	10
Modern Languages	3	2	5
Moral Sciences and "Greats"	2	3	5
Oriental Languages	1	2	3
Geography	—	1	1
Military Studies	1	—	1
	40	33	73

Account should, however, be taken of curricula of Universities such as Glasgow where Economics cannot be studied as a main subject, but only as part of another degree; the questionnaire-form from Glasgow stated that probably 50 per cent. of the Jewish students there had read "some Economics" in the course of their University career.

Table 3 was compiled in order to establish the amount of specialization among Jewish students. There are two minor specializations, Technology at Nottingham and Agriculture at Reading. Seven of the nine Nottingham students are in the Textile Depart-

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ment. It will be seen from Table 5 that these students were all foreign. As will be noticed later, a good many of the students from abroad came to Britain to study British technical methods. It should be noted that of the 22 students of Agriculture, 14 were from abroad (6 Palestinians, 5 Germans, 2 Poles, and 1 from the British Dominions), which left only 8 British-born students of Agriculture.

These minor specializations have therefore little relation to conditions in England. The biggest and most noticeable specialization, however, is a specifically British problem. This, the notable manner in which Jewish students flock to the medical profession, is clearly brought out by the Table. It will be seen that of the eight subjects listed, Medicine alone attracted over half of the Jewish students. The only major Universities where this was not the case were Birmingham, Oxford, and Cambridge. Elsewhere this tendency was noticeable to a high degree. How it compared with the distribution of non-Jewish students can be gathered from Table 4, which shows the order of preference at one of the major Universities, Glasgow, in 1936-7.

TABLE 4

Non-Jewish Students.		Per cent.	Jewish Students.		Per cent.
Arts	.	37.5	Medicine	.	68.0
Medicine	.	25.5	Arts	.	14.0
*Science	.	13.5	Law	.	8.0
Law	.	13.0	*Science	.	8.0
Engineering	.	6.0	Engineering	.	2.0
Theology	.	4.5			

* Including Agricultural students.

It was reported at Liverpool and Cardiff that the number of first-year Medical students was distinctly less than of those in their final year in 1936-7, but the opposite tendency was reported from Leeds. The Secretary of the Leeds Jewish Students' Association wrote: "This preponderance (of medical and dental students) is being intensified by a growing tendency in the last two or three years amongst students to read medicine in place of Arts or Science." He added that of the sixteen first-year men, twelve were taking either Medicine or Dentistry and he believed that "this tendency will go on increasing towards its limit during the next few years."

As to the motives which made Jewish students at the Universities so eager to read Medicine, the Glasgow Secretary was right when he emphasized in his report "the great respect, almost the veneration in which the profession is held by the community . . . and the consequent desire of parents to see their sons reap the benefits

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of such a position." An equally important factor was the belief that prospects of employment were good. Two examples from Leeds are illuminating: (1) "Two Jewish students this year changed their course from Science to Medicine because of the bogey of unemployment among Leeds teachers (naturally more acute among Jews)"; (2) "Two Jewish students, after spending three years at school trying to get Arts scholarships finally came to the University as Medical students."

A point worthy of mention is that the Scottish Universities produce two-thirds as many doctors as the English Universities, whereas the population of Scotland is only one-ninth that of England. Many of the Jewish Medical students in Scotland, therefore, like their non-Jewish colleagues, no doubt intended to find employment south of the Border; but of course this factor does not affect the total of intending Jewish doctors in the British Isles.¹

The numbers of students reading Dentistry were investigated by Survey II. Unfortunately the results were not on the same basis of accuracy as the rest of the material of this article, but sufficient to show that the percentage of Jewish Dental students is not high at the provincial Universities. There was a total of 18 Jewish Dental students at Sheffield, Birmingham, Leeds, and Liverpool Universities. There were also 6 Jewish Dental students at Glasgow, and 6 at Edinburgh, but they did not happen to be technically University students. The remainder of the eleven centres covered by Survey II reported that there were no Dental students. Facilities for Dental study exist at only eight of these Universities. Survey II did not cover Belfast or Dublin, where there are two important Dental schools. No accurate figures will therefore be attempted, beyond the statement that the proportion of Jewish Dental students is certainly not higher than 7 per cent. From figures available, it may be round about 4.5 per cent.

It is worth while pointing out that the other profession usually associated with Medicine as a favoured choice of Jewish students, the Law, is not to be compared with it in popularity. Table 3 shows that Law students lagged far behind Medical students, only coming

¹ An analogous situation (and not only among Medical students) obtained in Ireland, as will be seen from the following reports:

Belfast.—"No difficulty of graduate unemployment. Majority leave Belfast on graduating."

Cork.—"After graduation, they go to England."

Dublin.—"All medicals go to England. Law graduates open offices and Arts graduates get teaching and journalistic work in England."

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third in order of numerical importance. It seems plain that there was no exaggerated tendency for Jewish University students to read Law and there is some evidence that the number of Law students was actually diminishing. Liverpool, Leeds, Cardiff, and Cambridge all reported that there were fewer Jewish Law students in their first year than there were in their final year. Glasgow reported that the number of Jewish Law students was low owing to the "difficulty of finding lawyers willing to permit them to serve their apprenticeship in their offices." Scottish firms are old-established concerns which have their own connexions whence they draw their future trainees. Partly for this reason, students at Glasgow had taken to a new opening, Teaching.¹ Elsewhere, too, many students in the "Arts" column and several in the "Science" column of all Universities were future teachers. But prospects for teachers varied locally. Several cases of unemployment among Jewish qualified teachers were reported in Wales (in which country, incidentally, there existed a very real problem of unemployment for all University graduates). At Glasgow, on the other hand, it was reported that "until quite recently there was a difficulty in obtaining employment for teachers (all teachers, not only Jewish), but the situation is now much improved, there being quite a number of Jewish teachers in the local Corporation schools." Thus Teaching provided an opportunity for Jewish University graduates, but often where such prospects existed, the belief remained that these prospects were not good (as at Leeds; cf. p. 190). As long as this impression continued, there was little prospect of the teaching profession absorbing a large proportion of Jewish graduates.

Law and Teaching are the two professions which deserve singling out by reason of their numerical importance and they probably did not attract more than one-quarter of the Jewish graduates. When it is realized that a much higher proportion of students in the minor columns (e.g. technologists and agriculturists) were from countries abroad than in the Medical column, and that furthermore there were certain numbers of British Jewish Medical students at the non-University Colleges of Medicine who were not included in this survey, it will be seen that no subject could aspire to dethrone Medicine from the paramount position it occupied in the estimation of British Jewish students.

¹ It should also be observed that Scots Law is different from English, and therefore a Scots Law degree gives no prospect of advancement in England—in contrast to a Scots Medical degree.

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The sex composition of the Jewish students at the Universities studied was determined by Survey II. It was found that 13.5 per cent. of the Jewish students in the year 1938-9 were women. Yet among non-Jewish students, the proportion of women for that year was 22 per cent., so that there were fewer women students among the Jewish than among the non-Jewish students. This is most significant; Dr. Arthur Ruppin, in his authoritative book, *The Jews in the Modern World*, states categorically that the proportion of women among Jewish students is *higher* than among non-Jewish students, basing his generalization no doubt on statistics of European Universities. The position at British provincial Universities was exactly the contrary and it bears out the suggestion, sometimes heard, that higher education among Jewish young women here is not as advanced as it is among Jewish men. Jewish women were ahead of their non-Jewish female colleagues in one respect, however, and that was in the numbers they provided for the Medical faculties. They showed the same preference for Medicine as the Jewish men, and while they did not show it to the same high degree, the numerical proportion of Medical students was noticeably higher among Jewish than among non-Jewish women students, as will be seen from the Table below:

	Jewish Women. Per cent.	Non-Jewish Women. Per cent.
Arts . . .	41	66
Medicine . . .	20	15
Science . . .	10	17

Otherwise the tendency was for Jewish women not to concentrate as heavily on "Arts" as the general rule and to spread more evenly among other subjects. The remaining Jewish women students not included in the figures in Table 5 studied Mathematics, Social Science, Economics, Commerce, Pharmacy, and Law—in that order of numerical importance. One post-graduate female student at Cambridge studied Public Health, and at Reading University there were a further five women studying in the faculties of Agriculture, Horticulture, and Dairy Farming.

British Universities are open to all, and provided the applicant is properly qualified, he can expect to be admitted irrespective of his origin. To this rule the Scottish Universities are a partial exception. Owing to the existence of an unwritten "numerus clausus" for Jews at American faculties of Medicine, large numbers of Jews used formerly to come from U.S.A. to study Medicine at

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these Universities. As a result of the very heavy demand for admission to the faculty, entrance was limited a few years before the initiation of Survey I to students born within the British Commonwealth of Nations. This was not a racial discrimination, as British-born Jews had no difficulty in securing admission.¹

As a matter of fact, the Americans continued to come; they studied at the "Colleges of Medicine" in Glasgow and Edinburgh which award diplomas, not University doctorates. The qualifications obtained by the "College" students (L.R.C.P., L.R.C.P.S., L.R.C.S.) are recognized by the General Medical Council, and as far as the tuition is concerned, that of the Colleges is not behind that of the Universities. The only material difference is the Colleges offer less favourable facilities for research, while their expense is lower and their entrance examination easier. As students of these Colleges are not technically University students, they have not been included in this survey. In the year 1936-7, there were approximately 400 at Glasgow, where Jews comprised the majority of the student body at the Medical Colleges. At Edinburgh there were about 140, and at the Royal College of Medicine, Dublin, there were a further dozen, which made a total of some 550 non-University Jewish Medical students from America. There were still 18 American Jewish Medical students in 1936-7 who had begun their studies before the ban was imposed, at Edinburgh and Glasgow, who have been included in Survey I. Outside Scotland, there were 21 American Jewish students studying Medicine, more or less evenly distributed at the Universities of Cambridge, Leeds, Dublin, Sheffield, Bristol, and the College of Medicine, Newcastle. It would appear that Jewish students from the U.S.A. mainly came to England to study Medicine. Of the 48 American Jewish students in England, only 9 (8 at Oxford and 1 at Cardiff) studied subjects other than Medicine.

The total of Jewish University students from abroad in 1936-7

¹ The following is an excerpt from a letter from the Secretary of Marischal College, Aberdeen:

"The Medical course may be commenced in October only and candidates must make application on a special form before the 15th of June in each year. The applications are then selected in certain categories in the following order of preference:

- "1. Those already at the University but in another Faculty.
- "2. The sons and daughters of graduates of the University.
- "3. Those with any special connection with the University.
- "4. Those resident in the University area.
- "5. Those resident in Great Britain.
- "6. Members of the British Empire and lastly foreigners."

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was 231. This represents 24.5 per cent. of the Jewish student population. Of these, 49 at the various Universities had their degrees and were doing research work. It will be seen from Table 6 that one-half of the Jewish students "from abroad" came from the Dominions, U.S.A., and Palestine, countries where English is spoken.

TABLE 6
NUMBERS OF JEWISH STUDENTS FROM ABROAD

	Germans.	Americans.	British Dominions.	Pales- tinians.	Poles.	Others.
Belfast	—	—	—	—	1	—
Birmingham	3	—	—	1	—	1
Bristol	5	3	—	—	—	—
Cambridge	25	3	5	2	—	4
Cardiff	2	1	1	—	—	—
Dublin	—	8	2	—	—	1
Edinburgh	4	15	14	1	—	2
Exeter	1	—	—	—	—	—
Glasgow	1	3	—	6	—	—
Leeds	1	1	1	3	4	4
Liverpool	1	—	6	5	1	—
Manchester	8	—	1	8	—	5
Newcastle	—	1	1	—	—	—
Nottingham	2	—	—	—	5	2
Oxford	12	8	5	3	1	4
Reading	2	—	1	6	2	—
Sheffield	6	5	—	—	—	—
Southampton	—	—	1	—	—	—
	73	48	38	35	14	23

Table 6 was compiled from the first survey. Of the 38 Jewish students from the Dominions, the great majority were South Africans; but this number also included students from such countries as Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and Newfoundland. The second survey revealed that only four out of 30 Jewish students from the Empire at eleven Universities came from elsewhere than South Africa; one came from Canada, another from Australia, and two from "other Dominions." Many of the South Africans were Medical students studying in Scotland. Liverpool reported that in 1932-3 there were as many as eighteen South African Medical students at the University, but more recently their entry was restricted, due to the Medical course being filled with local students to whom first preference was given.

Of the 23 "Other" students from abroad, 12 came from Central Europe. The remainder included 4 Russians, 1 Lithuanian, 1 Iraqi, and 5 of unspecified nationalities. The returns show that there were 35 Palestinian students (as it is known that there were

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about 100 Palestinian students at London University, the total of Palestinian University students in England was about 135). In this connexion, it may be mentioned that there were approximately 41 German refugees of M.A. standing or higher, working in permanent or semi-permanent posts at British Universities, the majority of them (about 66 per cent.) at Edinburgh, Cambridge, and Oxford.

Some interesting trends in the composition of Jewish students from abroad were brought out by the second Survey. Changes in numbers at the eleven Universities covered by Survey II can be tabulated as in Table 7. These eleven Universities included 85 per cent. of the Jewish student population at the Universities studied.

TABLE 7
CHANGES IN NUMBERS OF STUDENTS FROM ABROAD

	1936-7.	1938-9.
Germans	57	54
British Empire	33	30
Palestinians	27	24
Poles	8	28
Central Europeans	9	17
Others	6	13
TOTAL	140	166

It will be seen that the numbers increased from 140 to 166. In point of fact, the increase in the total of Jewish students mentioned on page 184 is more than taken up by the increase of Jewish students from abroad. These formed 23.65 per cent. of the numbers of Jewish students at their Universities in 1938-9. The corresponding proportion at these eleven Universities in 1936-7 was 20.17.

This increase was entirely due to the increase in students from Poland and Central Europe. There was actually a diminution in the number of Germans, British Empire students, and Palestinians. The cause of this trebling and doubling of the Central European and Polish contingents is found in the discrimination and anti-Semitic excesses which were prevalent in the Polish Universities and the spread of German armies and German doctrines of race-discrimination in Central Europe.

Table 8 shows which subjects the different nationalities came over here to study. It was compiled in 1938-9 from Survey II. Medicine is an interesting group. Half of the Medical students are

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TABLE 8

SUBJECTS READ BY JEWISH STUDENTS FROM ABROAD AT ELEVEN UNIVERSITIES

	Germans.	British Dominions.	Pales- tinians.	Poles.	Central Europeans.	Others.	Total.
Engineering and Technology	3	3	4	18	9	3	40
Medicine	11	21	2	—	3	3	40
Arts	10	6	4	2	3	3	28
Science	9	—	3	1	—	—	13
Law	5	—	1	3	1	2	12
Agriculture	4	—	5	2	—	—	11
Dentistry	7	—	1	—	—	—	8
Commerce	—	—	3	1	—	1	5
Economics	3	—	—	1	—	—	4
Mathematics	2	—	—	—	1	—	3
Architecture	—	—	1	—	—	1	2
TOTAL	54	30	24	28	17	13	166

from the Dominions; these students would have no difficulty in getting permits to practise in any English-speaking country and with the Germans they form four-fifths of the Medical students. The latter were doubtless refugees who were sufficiently firmly established here to hope for naturalization or alternatively intended to go to the Dominions or Colonies. The Poles avoided Medicine entirely owing to the hopeless prospect for Jewish professional men in their country.

"Arts" is a subject studied by students from all parts; they were the students who came to England for a general education. The large size of the German contingent is notable. Indeed, the Germans were in many cases financially the best off of the foreign students, being sons and daughters of refugees who were in England with capital or established elsewhere. Twenty-five of the 54 German students were at Cambridge (13) or Oxford (12). It is certainly a paradox that the unfortunate refugees should be among the richer students. Apart from Arts, the Germans showed some tendency to concentrate on the "practical" subjects, Medicine, Science, Dentistry, and Agriculture.

The only other subject studied by students of all nationalities is "Engineering and Technology." This is because of its strong practical appeal. It should be noted particularly that 64 per cent. of the Poles and 53 per cent. of the Central European students studied Engineering. This was a direct result of the distressing conditions prevailing for Jews at the Central European and Polish Universities. Debarred from following a course at their own

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Universities, these students came to England for a training which seemed to offer them the best prospects of employment when they returned. In fact, the only nationality which was at all widely distributed through nearly every subject without undue "bunching" was Palestine, and this is perhaps a healthy sign of social conditions among the Jewish population there.¹

¹ It should be observed that the group "Others" includes students from Iraq, Egypt, Switzerland, Morocco, etc.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE FAMILY

By MAY RAVDEN

I

THE subject of the family has relevance to every phase, every aspect of human life, whether looked at from the viewpoint of the individual or of society. The problem of the family is vast in scope, and it can be studied sociologically, ethically, or psychologically, as well as in a number of other subsidiary ways. It is mainly the psychological aspect which will be dealt with here, although this cannot, of course, be treated in isolation. The sociological importance of the family is a theme which needs no emphasis: no individual exists *in vacuo*, for he is a member of society, and the family influences society through the individual in so far as it influences his whole attitude of life. Ever since Plato in the *Republic* first discussed the possibility of being brought up not in the family but by the State, psychologists have theorized about the part played by the family in the development of the individual, and the problems that are involved therein. The experience of Evacuation, which entailed a wholesale break up of family life, has provided a unique opportunity for testing the validity of these theories, and for observing what were in actual fact the psychological effects on all concerned of this great social experiment, the separation of the family's members on the one hand and the intrusion of strangers on the other. There is a growing realization that Evacuation has created emotional as well as economic problems, and that these problems cannot be met simply by blaming people for being irrational. It has created practical problems which can only be successfully dealt with by understanding the psychological forces underlying family life. An attempt will therefore be made to examine briefly the influence exerted by the family for good or ill on individual development, and then to consider what light the experience of Evacuation has thrown on these family problems.

The influences of the family on the individual may be classified roughly under three headings: emotional, intellectual, and moral. The immense emotional importance of the family cannot be over-emphasized. Man being a social animal needs love and friendship, and though one must not forget that the family may have evil influences, and may be the breeding ground of conflicts and

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repressed hate, yet in the majority of cases the individual from his earliest days draws sustenance and strength from those who make up his family. This need of love is vital to human beings, and especially to young babies—as vital, some would hold, as food and warmth. The explanation is to be found in the individual's need for security, a need to feel there exists a refuge from a harsh world that has no concern with him as a personality; a place where he can, through the sympathy to be found there, regain his confidence and the will to live. The family, further, has great emotional value because it is an outlet for generous impulses, and without an opportunity to satisfy these the individual becomes thwarted.

The family as an intellectual stimulus may be important in particular cases, but in the main this is not so important as the emotional side, since many individuals receive greater intellectual stimulus through other institutions such as their school or college. The psychological influence of the family on the individual's religious beliefs is interesting too in the light of Freudian analysis; but since the effect of Evacuation on children's religious beliefs has not been studied, and is not indeed measurable, it cannot be included here.

In the development of character the family has a rôle of first importance. According to Shand's view, the primary emotional systems—love, fear, and hate—are the foundations of character. The development of character consists in the increasing organization of our impulses and instincts into systems; that is, into sentiments. Since the family gives the first and main opportunity in early life for building up sentiments, the growth of character is intimately bound up with family life. It would seem that the greatest moral value of the ideal family is to teach at once independence and responsibility to others. Moreover, it is within the family that children first learn the meaning of co-operation and justice. Hence the importance of family life from the moral aspect.

We may now briefly consider the influence of the family on the individual at different stages of his development. The young infant has obvious physical needs which must be provided for, but even from his earliest days the infant needs more than material care and security: he needs affection because of his helplessness. In the young child this becomes even more important, for he is beginning to realize his helplessness, and with this realization there inevitably accumulates a vast number of things which he fears, all

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focused on the main fear that he will be abandoned. The young child is in a position of extreme dependence on and attachment to his mother and one or two other women, such as his nurse. The importance of the family can be seen from the fact that small children in the hands of strangers for long periods, especially when the strangers come and go, become emotionally isolated and therefore insecure. The normal fears of young children that they are losing love, or are not wanted, can only be allayed by the constant reassurance which is given in the family, and this reassurance is the prerequisite of emotional stability. The social significance of this is well brought out by Dr. Bowlby,¹ who considers that the prolonged separation of small children from their homes, either through illness or other misfortune, is one of the outstanding causes of the development of a criminal character.

Correlated with great physical changes, adolescence is the period of great mental upheavals during which the individual reorients himself. The way the individual adolescent becomes adjusted reflects his family relationships, and the family relationships show two main dangers. He begins to feel independent, and if thwarted may become hostile—adolescence is notably the period of conflicts between parent and child. Nevertheless, at this stage of the individual's development the importance of discipline, which should include, for the boy especially, the presence of male influence, must not be ignored. On the other hand, there is the danger that at this period the adolescent may avoid independence, go to the other extreme and cling to his dependence. The greatest danger resulting from this tendency is that of fixation, either on the mother or a substitute; and since it is linked with the growth of idealism in adolescence, it may turn into hero-worship. This may be a good thing up to a point, but it is harmful if it becomes exaggerated and prevents further development.

It remains to consider the psychological importance of the family to the parents. To the mother its value is clear, since it is the main outlet for her energy and provides for the satisfaction of her deepest impulses; in the family she has an outlet for her tender emotion which has been claimed as the source of all disinterested action, and is surely the source of all that is most valuable in human life. Again it has its dangers, for if the relationships are inhar-

¹ Bowlby, J., in Padley, R., and Cole, M., *Evacuation Survey* (George Routledge & Sons, 1940), p. 190.

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monious the mother may be emotionally unsatisfied and cling to her children, "use" them and thereby do great harm. But the dangers cannot outweigh the potential value. For the father, too, the family has psychological importance, though our conventional attitude towards the rôle of the father has sometimes ignored this. It has not been established that there is an innate paternal impulse comparable with the maternal one, but it is not to be doubted that most men do derive satisfaction from providing for the weak. Though this power may sometimes breed tyranny in the family, it may also bring out tenderness in men, and this is of great value because it modifies their egoism.

It is evident from what has gone before that when we consider the value or disadvantages of family life, we have always to take into account what kind of family we mean; this includes such questions as whether the parents get on together, whether the general atmosphere is one of calm or one of constant strain and stress. In the former case the individual has an opportunity to develop to the fullest extent, but in the latter emotional conflicts may be so strong that the child is better off if removed to an institution, although even from an imperfect family the individual may derive something of value.

II

In the first part of this article I have stressed the immense importance of family life. In order to illustrate this theoretical discussion, we may now consider the psychological aspects of Evacuation, that nation-wide disruption of families, and all the problems it has created. In other words, we may, from the material provided by the various studies that have been made, attempt to answer the question put thus in *The Cambridge Evacuation Survey*¹—namely, what was this jar to family life doing to the children and parents who were parted, or to those whose privacy was intruded upon? Those psychological aspects of Evacuation which concern the family as a unit will be examined in the first place, followed by some consideration of its effects on the individual at different stages of his development.

Evacuation has meant a dislocation of the normal habits of living as well as a loss of the habitual home background and familiar environment. Evacuation also implies leaving home for an inde-

¹ Isaacs, S., editor (Methuen, 1941), p. 2.

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finite period. This fact, which is of great psychological importance, distinguishes it from sending children to a boarding school. The Cole and Padley Evacuation Survey¹ has stated the problem of Evacuation in general terms. Firstly, the family cannot be artificially created, and there are numerous difficulties when children, or mothers with infants, are casually mixed with a previously homogeneous group. Secondly, the family is a great source of emotional security, and the individual's need to feel that he "belongs" is of great importance. If then, as happened in many cases, children were placed haphazard in foster-homes at a time which was for them one of great emotional disturbance (resulting as Dr. Bowlby put it from a combination of leaving home, the strangeness of new people, the fear of doing wrong, and perhaps a cool reception by a suspicious foster-mother), little wonder that some of them felt uneasy and that such symptoms as enuresis consequently occurred. This need of the child for security and to feel that he mattered was shown to be basic in many ways: thus a problem which caused much friction was one of supplying clothes for the children; this has psychological significance, because it made many children feel neglected and brought forward their early fears of losing their parents and of being abandoned.

The importance of the family tie was amply illustrated in *The Cambridge Evacuation Survey* by an analysis of the motives for bringing the children back home. Apart from economic motives, they predominantly related to family feeling, one-third being accounted for mainly by this. Complaints about foster-homes or foster-parents were sometimes a *justification* for bringing the child back rather than the real ground for the action. Further, the children's essays on "What I miss in Cambridge" show "how dominant in their feelings is the love of home, of parents, of brothers and sisters, how intensely even the happily placed child may feel the lack of his own family." Thus, an otherwise contented boy of 14 said, "I only miss Mum and Dad, and my sister and relations most and a few friends that have stayed behind."² Many times such typical phrases appear as "most of all I miss my parents and brothers." The strong feeling of family unity and resistance to its being broken is apparent also in the reluctance to re-evacuate. Even if there are antagonisms within the family, the need for

¹ Clarke, J. G., in Padley, R., and Cole, M., *op. cit.*, p. 157.

² Isaacs, S., editor, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

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"belonging" may be stronger than the fear of neglect, and many difficulties arose because of the resentment felt at any interference with this unity. Miss Edna Henshaw,¹ in her observations of a Northern Reception Area, noted that difficult situations were created when foster-parents indulged in open criticism of the children's parents, or openly sided with one member of the family against another. This is illustrated by the case of a boy of 11 billeted with his brother of 14. The householder noticed that the mother favoured the elder one, and so took the side of the younger boy on every possible occasion. She openly criticized the mother for this favouritism, endeavouring to compensate the younger child. The result was to increase anxiety in the younger boy, and a slight tendency to enuresis in the first weeks of Evacuation developed into a nightly occurrence. The problem of conflicting standards created further psychological difficulties; thus many children were brought back because their parents felt they were being taught grand manners and alienated from their own homes. This aspect of Evacuation—emphasizing the reality of social stratification—is interesting further in showing that it was the parents much more than the children who minded about class differences; many younger children proved adaptable when not influenced by their parents' own class consciousness. This is but another aspect of the fact that, as *The Cambridge Evacuation Survey* put it, "the quality of individual affection and care is of greater importance for the child than the more easily defined differences of material circumstance and characteristic manners and customs."² The importance of affection to the child has again and again been illustrated in the instances of those children who were successfully billeted and those who were not. It is further illuminating that the children who settled down most easily and happily were those who came from happy homes. All observers seem agreed on this point, which is expressed by Miss Edna Henshaw thus: "Contrary to popular expectation, the child coming from an ideal home giving him emotional security and ordered comfort has found it easier to settle, even in an indifferent billet, than the child from an indifferent home."³

Let us now consider some of the psychological aspects of Evacua-

¹ Henshaw, E., *Mental Health*, January 1940, p. 7.

² Isaacs, S., editor, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

³ Henshaw, E., *op. cit.*, January 1940, p. 8.

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tion on the basis of its effects on the individual. Of the youngest children who did not go with their mothers but with elder brothers and sisters, it was found that they were happily settled if there was a homely, affectionate foster-mother. The Nursery Schools were not on the whole a success, although individual units may have been. There were many practical difficulties which could be overcome, but, nevertheless, in spite of untiring efforts of the staffs, it was almost impossible to supply a sufficiently high concentration of adults. It was found too, as Miss Henshaw noted, that the absence of male influence with infants, as well as with older children, was a strong argument against any but the private billet for the normal child. She observed that home-sickness in young children for their fathers was by no means exceptional, both in little boys and little girls. This occurred more frequently in cases where there was no adequate father substitute in the billet. Thus one child, on being visited by its mother, burst into tears exclaiming, "Daddy hasn't come!"

Theories about the position of the young child in the family (aged from 5 to 8 years roughly) have also been proved true by the experience of Evacuation. Younger children have fewer resources of their own, and are largely dependent for their peace of mind upon the opinion of their foster-parents and parents. If they get insufficient approval or too much censure, the normal fears of being unwanted and unloved arise, and Evacuation may tend to be interpreted unconsciously as rejection or punishment. Older children who are serene, well-adjusted, and fairly independent may enjoy Evacuation. Billeting was found to be successful where the child felt safe in his relationships with his own parents, and keeping in contact with parents through letters and visits from home was found to be sufficient to reassure the normal child. Dr. Cyril Burt,¹ in his examination of neurotic symptoms among evacuated school children, throws interesting light on the problems of the maladjusted evacuees. He found no great increase in the amount of serious disorder, but about 20 per cent. increase in mild disorders, such as anxiety states, hysterical symptoms, incontinence, and anger neuroses. There was a marked increase of anxiety states, especially among girls, younger children, and only children. These included home-sickness which, as he said, in younger children is largely mother sickness: "missing mum" is the commonest explanation

¹ Burt, C., *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, February 1940.

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offered by the pining child for his fretting and his sobs. It is interesting that the figures for incontinence showed that the trouble in many, if not most cases, was not due to the habits of "city slums," as many irate foster-mothers tended to assume, but that it was a new manifestation which in several instances ceased immediately the child was returned to its parents. He observes further an emotional exaggeration of grievances, especially in the letters of girls aged 12 to 14, and various symptoms of a quasi-hysterical kind, all with a common characteristic—that is, that they were likely to form a reason for sending the child back home. Evacuation had not, in Dr. Burt's view, caused much increase in delinquency, although there were many complaints of noisiness and destructiveness. There had been some cases of theft and sexual misbehaviour. These nervous and moral disturbances, however, Dr. Burt traced to the absence of familiar personalities, to new social contacts, and to home-sickness. His conclusions were that there had been fewer disturbances than were expected, and that many minor maladjustments could have been avoided if fuller account had been taken of the known intellectual and temperamental differences between children, in the attempt to find them suitable foster-homes.

Miss Magdalen D. Vernon's study¹ of the effect of Evacuation on adolescent girls in four secondary schools throws further interesting light on the problems of the family. She found much evidence of the unsettling and disruptive effect of Evacuation, especially in relation to social relationships. The rôle of the school here, as in that of children of all ages, was extremely important, for it provided a familiar environment and people, something to hold on to and feel safe in. This helped many children to avoid that feeling of complete insecurity and emotional isolation which is the source of all maladjustments. The separation from parents, home, and friends, and the introduction to new family and social groups, she rightly considers the crucial point in Evacuation. She noted the strength of the home-tie in the desire of girls to be near home. This is an important problem of adolescence, one which Dr. Flugel² held to be the chief task of the family at this stage to fulfil, namely that of emotional weaning. Miss Vernon makes a similar assertion: "The permanence or otherwise of Evacuation will depend on the possi-

¹ Vernon, M. D., *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, June 1940.

² Flugel, J. C., *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Family* (Hogarth Press, 1931), p. 220.

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bility of adjustment to the weakening of this tie."¹ But more important than home-sickness was the degree of parental pressure on the children to return home. In one of the schools she found evidence of this in 39 per cent. of the cases. It was illustrated by such remarks as, "Mum keeps on saying she wants me home, but I don't really want to go. I really don't know what I'd do there." In another school she had definite evidence from those who had returned home. They were asked, "Did your parents want you to come home or did they leave you to decide?" Seventy-five per cent. reported that their parents did want them back. Usually it was "Mother wanted me back" or "Mother was lonely."²

The effect on parents of the break-up of the home was indeed very important. The life of most married women had been centred in looking after the husband, children, and home, which was a vehicle for their energies and enthusiasm. The Cole and Padley Report put it vividly by saying that, "Suddenly to ask these women to give up their children is like asking a keen physician to give up his practice or a naval captain his ship. They will feel bored and miserable." And many of them did, although they have been to a certain extent relieved by taking up war work. The tendency of a mother to cling to her children, especially if the husband is in the Army or if her relationship with him is unsatisfactory, has resulted in many problems. Thus, some exaggerated the petty discomforts and complaints of the children and brought them home against their will. *The Cambridge Evacuation Survey* reports that in talking to mothers visitors gained the impression that their own loneliness and worry entered particularly into their descriptions of the children's home-sickness. This is one of the largest problems of the family, the danger that a mother will sponge on her children's affection for want of any other outlet. Thus, one case mentioned in *The Cambridge Evacuation Survey* says that the mother "does not appear to have a very intimate relationship with her husband, and Kathleen is her main emotional outlet. The father was furious that the mother brought her home." We have stressed this problem from the child's viewpoint so far, but we have to remember that it must sometimes be considered from the father's viewpoint too. This is illustrated by the mother who went down to stay with her evacuated children, although there was no real ground for the

¹ Vernon, M. D., *op. cit.*, p. 123.

² *Ibid.*, p. 124.

³ Bowlby, J., in Padley, R., and Cole, M., *op. cit.*, p. 191.

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reason she gave, namely, that she was afraid they were not being properly looked after. This implied leaving the husband to fend for himself. But the family is important to the father too, and he may be much affected by the Evacuation of his children. The Cole and Padley Report tells of a man aged 40 who went off his food completely when his child went away.¹ Hence the psychological forces which made many parents exert pressure to bring their children back home were (1) their own psychological needs, (2) jealousy and suspicion of the foster-parents, especially if they had won the affection of their children, and (3) the twofold fear of their children being badly treated, or of being so well treated that their treatment at home compared unfavourably.

The reasons why Evacuation as a whole failed, and why some of it was successful, have brought out the fundamental importance of the family. It has made us realize that the forces which bind the family together are strong and that we must try not to create antagonisms. It follows from our study of the importance of the family that successful Evacuation is a delicate matter. It has proved that psychologists were correct in maintaining that children need, above all, love, security, and freedom, and that parents too need love, assurance, and other interests than those of their children. Where these factors were harmonized, Evacuation was a success. The system broke down because in the words of the Cole and Padley Report, "the vagaries of human relationships had been insufficiently considered," because the delicate task of re-establishing or finding temporary substitutes for family life was left to amateurs, and not to trained social workers. The reasons why Evacuation failed are themselves proof that the theoretical conclusions of psychologists on the part played by the family in individual development were not unrelated to fact. A fuller understanding of the problems would have made Evacuation more successful. Thus, in terms of practical policy, successful Evacuation requires, as Dr. Burt advocated, preliminary information about Evacuees and foster-homes, the recognition that children need different treatment according to age, sex, temperament, intelligence, and general social status, and finally a sane attitude on the part of the parents. An examination of why Evacuation failed has been an opportunity to apply theory to practice. Thus the proposal for camps for evacuees raises the problem of finding enough experienced workers

¹ Bowlby, J., in Padley, R., and Cole, M., *op. cit.*, p. 191.

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who understand what the child gets from the family and who will attempt to provide the best substitute. One further illustration of the importance of family life is given in the observations of G. Keir on the effects of evacuating residential school children into private billets.¹ Two such schools admitted a general all-round improvement and concluded that "Evacuation and more intimate home life has certainly been good for the children," stressing that they had learnt to bear responsibility.

On the whole, therefore, it seems that most children placed in foster-homes where they could feel like members of the family were happy. Of the 320 cases examined in Cambridge only a handful showed bad social relations between the child and foster-mother, and for the very small number of unbilletable children, who themselves came from families where the relationships were bad, small hostels proved to be a success. The careful choosing of foster-homes is the nearest we can get in wartime to give children the stability and emotional sustenance they would have got from their own families. The permanent institution cannot replace the family; it is not plausible that children should, as Plato held, be separated from their parents at birth and be brought up in a State institution, because the individual cannot get enough affection or enough satisfaction for his deepest impulses. The State to-day is taking over many of the previous functions of the family, but it cannot find a substitute for the satisfaction of human impulses and emotions.

An essay on the importance of the family rests on the assumption that we have an end in view, otherwise it does not matter what sort of a person grows up, whether in the family or in an orphanage. Perhaps the underlying assumption is that we desire the fullest development of personality and the greatest diversity and harmony of people. Here Ethics and Psychology merge, because a society of balanced, sane, and satisfied people, rather than perverted, one-sided individuals, depends on the fulfilment of certain psychological conditions, which are best achieved through the medium of the Family. The importance to the future of civilization that as many people as possible should have achieved rational harmonization of their emotions and impulses in integrated personalities makes it perhaps not an exaggeration to say that only on healthy family relationships can real civilization be built.

¹ Keir, G., *Mental Health*, January 1942.

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By G. F. THIRLBY

IN a recently published address,¹ Mr. A. M. Carr-Saunders called attention to a paradox in a situation which has arisen in the universities of the British Isles. While the universities are found to be providing vocational instruction, many people still believe that, in doing so, they are departing from their true function of disseminating culture through the medium of a literary education. The antagonism persists because it is not yet sufficiently appreciated that there is no necessary antithesis between the liberal and the vocational. Not that the fusion of the two has already occurred in the vocational courses. On the contrary, except in the training for the public service, where the fusion has been achieved rather by accident than by design, the university training for the professions aims at no more than a limited professional competence. It lacks the liberal element that would be in it if, by making him alive to the implications of his technique and practice, it prepared a man to bear his social responsibilities as a practitioner: it fails to make general training arise out of special training. As the purely literary education also fails to make the student understand his personal and social problems, it is not a substitution of the literary for the existing vocational education that is required. Neither would anything substantial be achieved by adding "cultural" trappings to the professional curriculum. What is required is that the vocational training should be imbued with the liberal element by an adequate study of the science underlying the vocational technique and of the social implications of the vocational practice.

Finding myself in sympathy with Mr. Carr-Saunders' progressive views, I propose to discuss the university commerce curriculum along the same lines, and to comment upon the forces of reaction that, in my opinion, constitute a bar to progress in the teaching of commerce.

¹ "The Function of Universities in the Modern World" (the Finlay Lecture delivered in the University College, Dublin, May 24, 1940), published in *THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, Vol. XXXII, Nos. 3 and 4, July-October, 1940.

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THE VOCATIONAL PURPOSE OF THE COMMERCE CURRICULUM

In considering the university's function in the training of men whose vocation will be commerce, we must recognize that the university cannot, at least in our own time, undertake to turn out men certified as skilled practitioners in commerce. It cannot do this because the essence of commercial practice is buying and selling, and hiring and firing. Even the administrative act within the firm is always coerced at both ends of the business (the buying and selling ends) by the forces of the market. To be able to award a certificate of competence in these operations, it would be necessary to measure in some way the profitable results of a student's actual practice of the operations in the face of the forces of the market; and that would seem to necessitate the probably expensive procedure of placing capital at the student's disposal. Experience of this kind would seem to be as essential to the practice of commerce as is the treatment of the sick to the practice of medicine. And the university is not able, and is perhaps not likely to be able, to provide that experience within its commerce curriculum.

What, then, from the narrowly vocational point of view, can graduation in commerce be expected to prove? In the first place, that the student has passed a mental test. The provision of this test will have much the same selective purpose for commerce as the British Higher Civil Service examinations have for the British Civil Service. Its aim will be to separate out, in so far as university tests can do this, the most mentally competent: to sift out those students who appear to be so gifted as to be suitable for the higher-grade jobs. In the second place, that the student has an understanding of the tasks and problems of the business man. That the curriculum should aim at securing this understanding seems to be indicated by the very fact that a separate faculty has emerged and been given the name Commerce. More so than do the British Higher Civil Service examinations, the commerce faculty examinations will require a comprehension of the particular environment, commerce, in which the successful candidate presumably intends to operate. Such would appear to be the limits of the Commerce Degree's vocational purpose.

But this is disputed. Some people, accepting the position that entrants into commerce are frequently required at first to accept junior office posts, contend that it is of first importance that com-

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merce students should be intensively trained to proficiency in the work they will be called upon to do at that stage, and that the university examinations should lay emphasis upon the testing of that proficiency. Two aspects of this contention are open to criticism:

(i) If the university, as the seat of higher learning, is to distinguish its own academic field from the field of the technical institution, the commerce faculty cannot accept this view. This is by no means to say that "purely technical" training should be eliminated from the curriculum. If it is urged that in the professional courses there is a great deal of the "purely technical," or that "purely manipulative skills" are prominent in those courses, and that the faculty of commerce should follow suit, I reply simply that the nature and amount of such training that is desirable depends upon what ultimate end it is intended to serve, and the type of mind that is receiving instruction. The training in the "purely manipulative skills" of the medical faculty is not directed to the end of providing doctors with highly skilled bottle-washers, or even nurses. "Medicine is a profession; nursing is ancillary to medicine and dependent upon the same sciences, but since training for nursing does not demand an intimate study of them, it is not properly given in universities."¹ Neither is the university commerce curriculum directed to the end of providing business men with highly efficient clerks or bookkeepers. Proficiency of this kind would be acquired as a means to the vocational end that has been described, but not as an end in itself. An excuse sometimes offered for regarding such proficiency as an end in itself is that, since the business world as it is tends very largely to judge general capacity by the ability expressed in minor skills, the university must adjust its curriculum accordingly. If it were true that the business world behaved in this way, it might still be deplored that the university should accept the position of "a responsive tail stuck on the rump of the community."² But I submit that it is not true: the business man does not regard the bookkeeper, who only once in ten years made a clerical error, as *ipso facto* a person of "general capacity"; he does not regard a stenographer, who takes down and transcribes with sufficient accuracy for his purpose, as *ipso facto* a person of general capacity. He would not promote them on *those* grounds to positions requiring

¹ Carr-Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

² M. Versfeld, Lecturer in Ethics and Political Philosophy in the University of Cape Town, in a students' journal, *U.C. Tatle*, September 18, 1940.

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versatile minds. As evidence of such versatility a business man would require something quite different.

(ii) To assume that a junior post in the office or the counting-house is the normal entrance to commerce would be unsound. The graduate may enter commerce either (a) upon a higher horizontal level in the hierarchy of tasks, or (b) upon the same *horizontal* level but in another of the divisions that are separated by *vertical* lines.

(a) It should not be *assumed* that the graduate will not immediately go into business on his own account; and it certainly cannot be assumed that no graduate will enter his father's business, and so avoid the inferior tasks. But these methods of entry are not my chief concern. The channel of entry to the higher horizontal levels that is most prominent in my mind is the channel of a traineeship. Some business firms have already adopted the method of accepting trainees for the higher administrative posts, using the universities as their recruiting ground. And if Professor Carr-Saunders is a sound prophet—if it is true that in the society of the future the élite will emerge by selection—this is surely the method of entry nearest to the norm that the university should adopt as its own and set before the public.

(b) Whether the graduate enters commerce as a recognized trainee for the administrative posts, or whether he simply takes a job without such recognition, it does not follow that he will be expected to perform inferior tasks exclusively or mainly in the office or the counting-house: he may find himself at the shop-counter, on "the road," or in the warehouse or the workshop. Some firms employing the trainee system require their recruits to spend a relatively short time in every distinguishable department. A business man professing to believe that an entrant into commerce should "start at the bottom" may expect a graduate to spend a relatively *long* time as a bookkeeper; but, on the other hand, he may expect him to spend a relatively long time as an *artisan*, or in some other division in the lower horizontal strata.

There is, however, an argument for the acquisition of operative skill with which I have more sympathy: it asserts that, unless the study of theory is accompanied by practice, the student will suffer from a psychological void which it would be difficult to reconcile with the view that he was being appropriately educated. Whatever the merits of this assertion—and I do not propose to argue them—it has been observed already that the university cannot hope to

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provide facilities for "practising" commerce, properly understood. The difficulty appears to receive recognition in those universities in which lecture periods are so timed as to allow students to hold business appointments during their undergraduateship. A further approach to the solution of the difficulty might be made by the universities' striving to secure that the extramural work of their students was a traineeship appropriate to the conception of commerce here defined and to the method of entry into commerce which I have suggested the universities should adopt as a norm.

COMMERCE AND UNIVERSITY CULTURE

"Leaving aside tradition, as we are entitled to do, there would appear to be only two conditions necessary if the study of a subject is to have real cultural value. The first is that it should deal with some essential feature of nature or civilization, the second is that it should have a coherent body of theory or doctrine. If these two conditions are satisfied, it will be cultural in the only ultimate sense, and it will be worthy of a place in the curriculum of a university."¹ It could hardly be disputed that commerce is an "essential feature of . . . civilization." What might less easily secure common consent is that university commerce has "a coherent body of theory." But it has! The essential, indispensable theory with which *any* commercial phenomenon must be reconciled before it can be regarded as satisfactorily explained from the point of view of academic commerce is economics. Economics is the theory of the administration of resources and exchange. As such, it is essential to the explanation of both the internal administration of a firm and the external determinants and effects of a firm's activities. This is not to say that it is possible to understand all the actual phenomena of commerce (the real world) without taking into account determinants such as those of law, geography, and technology (including the recording methods of accounting); but it is to say that law and geography and technology cannot explain commercial results, or provide criteria of commercial "efficiency," without taking into account the forces of the market. If it is the real world, and that aspect of it which has been called commerce, that is to be studied, these other determinants will have to be noticed too; but if the study is to be coherent—that is to say, if commerce is not to be observed

¹ Sir John E. Adamson, "The University in South Africa," in *The University Outside Europe*, edited by Edward Bradby (Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 152.

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as chaos—economics will have to be studied, and not only studied, but applied. Without economics—and it will be *without* economics if, as very often happens, economic theory is studied separately but not *applied*—commercial “practice” is incoherent. The applied economist does treat of practice. But he reasons about it, and tries to explain why it is what it is. In doing this, he uses the discipline of economics.

I submit, then, that whatever subjects may be considered to be a necessary means of providing the student with commercial data and subsidiary disciplines, the culminating study of commerce, in order to be a worthy part of university culture, is necessarily a study of the phenomena of commerce in the light of economics; and that as economics, in that culminating study, is all-pervasive, academic commerce may well be regarded as applied economics. This is the essential that must not be mutilated if the study of commerce is to conform to Sir John Adamson's criterion. And it should be emphasized that it is the study of commerce that has to find its place in university culture. It is possible that subsidiary subjects (such as statistics, and, for that matter, accounting) may in themselves be worthy of such a place, but that is beside the point.

But I have found that some of the very people who are nervous lest a commerce graduate should be uncultured appear to be impatient of this point of view. Dismissing commerce in the sense of applied economics with scarcely veiled contempt, they assume that the core of the curriculum is or should be essentially “practical” and “as descriptive and non-academic as possible,” or (as it seems to be alternatively described) “technical.” It is comprehensible that opposition should come from those who have themselves not adequately absorbed economics into their philosophy, and who are familiar with the treatment of commercial “organization” by people who are similarly undisciplined; and it is easy to understand that their comments upon the core of the commerce curriculum should be accompanied by an injunction that it should be as descriptive and non-academic as possible. A course that observed this injunction would at best be in the position of courses on special determinants, like geography and technology. The injunction inhibits discussion of the market forces that determine the industrial pattern and its changes; it rejects the economic interpretation which integrates the material from the point of view of commerce. The need for the commerce (applied economics) course remains.

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"The process of ultimate explanation begins just where the description of the technical conditions leaves off."¹

The obvious retort to my remarks is that if the student has taken courses in *principles* of economics, he will have received there the equipment that he needs for economic interpretation, and that that will be sufficient. But it is *not* sufficient. To convert the commerce curriculum into a number of subjects for which economics is prescribed as a "prerequisite," but in which economics is not, in the event, used as a tool either by the teacher or by the student, is to convert it into the type that has recently been described as "a combination of academic ostentation and academic deceit."² Why is this so? In the first place, it is a delusion to suppose that undergraduate students in general readily link up principles of economics, studied in relative abstraction, with the diverse phenomena of commerce presented as facts *in vacuo* or without economic interpretation. Secondly, they will, to say the least of it, not be encouraged to do the linking up for themselves if their lecturers, not being applied economists, offer them interpretations inconsistent with economics. Thirdly, it is doubtful, anyway, whether some lecturers in principles of economics sufficiently emphasize that aspect of economics which is so important to the applied economist operating in the sphere of commerce, namely, the aspect which is applicable to the administration of resources *inside the operating unit*: that process of margin-trimming by the individual in the face of the forces of the market, which is directly applicable in the study of the internal administration of the firm, and which is the basis of that branch of applied economics which is now called business administration. At least this is the impression one sometimes receives when, meeting a group of students fresh from a first course in principles of economics, one asks them, let us say, to explain how a firm owning specific plant would adjust its behaviour if the demand for the product of the plant had fallen against the firm's anticipations.

The students' answers need a good deal of development. And if the student has recently been absorbing cost-accounting conventions,³ the results may be distressing. I found a remarkable failure

¹ L. Robbins, *The Nature and Significance of Economic Science*, second edition (London, 1935; Macmillan), p. 37.

² William W. Hewett, "Teaching Applied Subjects," *American Economic Review*, Vol. XXX, No. 2, Part 1, June, 1940, p. 334. (I cannot, however, conscientiously suggest that he would carry the application of economics as far as I should.)

³ See below.

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to appreciate that the study of business administration is essentially a matter of applied economics in a suggestion made by an economist, viewing superficially the type of commerce (applied economics) course that I envisage, that the course would be of more use to a person who was to become a director of commerce in an authoritarian state than to the persons for whom it was intended. It may be surmised that the opinion depended upon a conservative attachment to the view that economics is no more than *political* economy, or upon a leaning towards the old treatment¹ of the organization of production.

Business administration is essentially a matter of applied economics, whether the business unit studied exists in a "capitalist" or an "authoritarian" state. "Training for a modern career must be in a large degree scientific, because the careers of modern times are based upon sciences in the sense that their techniques are derived from one or more natural or social sciences. Thus . . . business administration is based upon economics."² The work of the business man is business administration; the study of his work is the study of business administration; the science or analytical technique upon which the study is based is economics.

THE FUSION OF THE VOCATIONAL AND THE CULTURAL

I have now attempted to explain the narrowly vocational purpose of the commerce curriculum: besides providing a mental test, it should bring the student to an understanding of the tasks and problems of the business practitioner. And, in discussing the nature of the core of the curriculum, I have explained how it can conform to Sir John Adamson's definition of a cultural subject, and how, in so conforming, it uses an underlying science in the study of the vocational practice. The curriculum seems already to approach Mr. Carr-Saunders' requirement that it should fuse the vocational and the cultural. It appears to be unnecessary to do more than add that, in order that the liberal element shall not be neglected, the essential applied economics treatment must be carried into the sphere of the social implications of the vocational practice. As there would probably be less dispute as to the relevance of economics in this sphere, I shall take the relevance for granted.³

¹ On the difference between the old and the modern treatment see Robbins, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 and 71.

² Carr-Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

³ "Economists have probably high differential advantages as sociologists." (Robbins, *op. cit.*, Preface, p. viii.)

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But it is disputed that the method I have described is the appropriate means of achieving a liberal education. Those—or some of them—who would eliminate or restrict the method of applied economics seek for the “descriptive and non-academic” core of their curriculum an outward and visible covering composed of a miscellany of subjects, imported from other faculties, and hope in that way to provide a cultural degree. It is a rosy-cheeked apple that they offer, and a very saleable one, too—in the short run. But it is rotten inside!

THE ESSENTIAL COURSES FOR AN APPROPRIATE CURRICULUM¹

If the purposes that I have indicated are allowed to determine it, the commerce curriculum will provide a group of studies, integrated, with applied economics entering as the essential method, to the end of explaining the phenomena of commerce. A few odd phenomena that might occur amongst the vast variety that emerge will serve to illustrate the diversity of the phenomena, the recurrent problem of adjustment, and the challenge to explain, with which the applied economist has to deal. Such are: people standing in a queue to buy bread; factories working all night while others are not working at all; a chef giving notice to quit because he “has to spend more time in filling up forms than in cooking”; money becoming worthless; a person being prosecuted for practising as a doctor; a production manager altering his layout; some firms using their own prime movers while others in the same line are purchasing their power; a Member of Parliament for a farming district introducing a Marketing Bill into Parliament.

(a) The means of achieving the end of explanation are, first, the provision of courses in the essential disciplines and techniques and in certain special determinants. The principal analytical discipline required for comprehending the phenomena of commerce as manifestations of the exercise of human preferences is economics. In view of its fundamental importance, it will presumably be studied

¹ This section is admittedly sketchy. I would suggest that it should be compared with the commerce syllabus to be found in a *CALENDAR* of the *London School of Economics*. It is relevant to this and the next section, and to my whole theme, to remark that in the School *CALENDAR* for 1936/7 I counted twenty-one economists who were contributing to the B.Com. curriculum; but only one accountant (excluding R. S. Edwards, whom I counted as an economist).

It is significant that at London University it is possible to graduate with first-class honours, in any one of the four alternative groups, without having taken any accounting after the intermediate examination.

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thoroughly and abstractly in separate courses. If, however, weight is given to the argument that some students are brought to a fuller understanding of the significance of the discipline when they see it applied immediately, and if, consequently, the discipline is developed in the courses which use it for analytical purposes, and if these "applied" courses (referred to below) are lengthened accordingly, the "pure" courses may be shorter. A subsidiary discipline is statistical method. Business administrators and others frequently draw conclusions from changing relationships between groups of units: it is well to know how the operations must be conducted for the conclusions to be validly drawn. A third study is the technique of accounting, which has a good deal to do with the keeping track of the results of commercial operations, and with the division of the spoils when people have conducted commercial operations co-operatively under contractual arrangements, or when a government has staked a claim to a part of the spoils.

Under the heading of special determinants may be included law and, if it is not considered to have been studied sufficiently prior to matriculation, geography. Law sets limits or conditions to the things people can do in their commercial operations: it is desirable to know what those limits or conditions are. Geography furnishes an account of where people and the things they produce and exchange are found, and the physical conditions limiting their distribution. These two subjects do not necessarily exhaust the list: technology, for example, has been suggested as a subject equally suitable for inclusion.

(b) The next step in the process of explanation is a broad study of the phenomena of commerce under the influence of the disciplines. In this step, the disciplines, of which economics is the *sine qua non*, will be used as analytical tools. The study will be provided in courses which might be labelled "commerce" and "economic history." The commerce course, which is essentially one of applied economics, attempts explanation of the actual phenomena of commerce, sometimes from the viewpoint of an outside observer, sometimes as problems confronting commercial operators. Economic history deals with more or less the same kinds of phenomena—but phenomena of the past, and their changes over time. The phenomena studied in the commerce course will be affected by the special determinants already studied. A knowledge of these will at this stage be presumed to reside both in the student and in the applied

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economist who is lecturing to him. But unless the list of special courses in determinants is sufficiently expanded, the applied economist will bear the burden of supplying information about such additional determinants as he deems necessary to explain the phenomena that he is treating.¹ Obviously, the study cannot be exhaustive; but it will be interpretative, and the example will be so selected and discussed as to facilitate the interpretation, by analogy, of such phenomena as are left untreated. This course is the one that at once analyses the diverse phenomena of commerce and integrates the matters studied in other courses.

(c) A final step in the integrated study may be closer study confined to a narrower sphere: a certain field of commerce—a section of the broader study—cut off for more intensive study.

If this work is to be done thoroughly—if the student is to be brought to a condition in which his thought upon the phenomena of commerce is satisfactorily disciplined—it will probably absorb the time usually given by a student to the acquisition of a university degree. The curriculum will have sought “to stimulate the extension of his interest, aroused in a special field, and of his judgment, trained in that field, to the underlying theoretical issues and to the surrounding social implications.”² If the end is achieved, the student entering commerce will have achieved a comprehension of his surroundings which he would otherwise acquire, if at all, only after long experience.

SOME SPECIAL OBSERVATIONS UPON ACCOUNTING

I have heard the suggestion that, in default of the “descriptive and non-academic” course to which I have several times referred, accounting should be regarded as the next best thing. This I dispute. It can hardly be supposed that what is put forward as the next best thing to such a course intended to replace applied economics would itself fulfil the function of applied economics. Moreover, certain accounting practices may well be regarded as themselves requiring to be subjected to the economic discipline. In cost accounting, for example, the retrospective approach and the practice of “allocating” “on-cost” require to be rejected in favour of the prospective approach and the substitution of the use of the

¹ E.g., an applied economist lecturing upon factory administration would supply information concerning techniques used for controlling the planning and execution of work in factories.

² Carr-Saunders, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

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opportunity cost concept.¹ Misleading cost-accounting conventions appear to have arisen partly owing to a failure to understand that the value of an owned instrument of production is not determined by the price paid for it, partly owing to a failure to appreciate the significance of the marginal approach.² Furthermore, it is not difficult to suspect a sympathy between accountants, apparently basing their practices upon ideas resembling "cost of production theories of value," and promoters of cartels and other price-maintenance arrangements that are regarded by some economists as the economic cause of war.³ An applied economist holding these views may well feel some concern when it is suggested that accounting is in some sense a substitute for applied economics. "Scientific Accounting," said the late Lord Stamp in 1921, "has now been developing for some fifty years, but I cannot trace that it has yet made a single contribution to economic science over its own field of the analysis of the results of industry, although it has practically a monopoly grip of the required data."⁴ The likely explanation seems to be that economic science has not yet become integrated into the philosophy of accounting teachers and writers. What is to be deplored is not so much the failure of accounting to make contributions to economic science as its neglect of what economics could teach it. The ubiquity of accounting and the need for its reconciliation with economics rather suggest that part of a second course in accounting in the commerce curriculum should be called "Accounting in the Light of Economic Analysis," and that the course should be an ambitious one, aimed at rectifying accounting practice where necessary; and that this kind of work should certainly take precedence over the general descriptive lecturing contemplated under the "descriptive and non-academic" course. The kind of work that might be included is the pioneer work⁵ being done by

¹ "The value of what you have got is not affected by the value of what you have relinquished or foregone in order to get it. . . . You have the thing you bought, not the price you paid for it." Wicksteed, *The Common Sense of Political Economy* (London, 1933; Routledge), pp. 88 and 89.

"The conception of real costs as displaced alternatives is now accepted by the majority of theoretical economists, but . . . we are still a long way from making it part and parcel of our daily speculations on those problems to which it is most relevant." *Ibid.*, Robbins' Introduction, p. xviii.

² See, e.g., "The Rationale of Cost Accounting," by R. S. Edwards, in *Some Modern Business Problems*, edited by A. Plant (London, 1937; Longmans), and twelve articles by R. H. Coase in Vol. XCIX of the *English Accountant*.

³ On the economic cause of war, see Robbins: *The Economic Causes of War* (London, 1933; Jonathan Cape).

⁴ Quoted from *The Professions* by Carr-Saunders and Wilson (Oxford Univ. Press 1933), p. 226.

⁵ Such, for example, as that referred to in footnote ² above.

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lecturers who would acknowledge the influence of Professor Arnold Plant at the London School of Economics. Until the academic accountant can be regarded as having accepted the burden of this duty, the applied economist lecturing to students of commerce will doubtless regard it as one of his duties to instruct them in such a manner that when they become business men they will at least be wary of the practices of the accountants they employ. (Such students will be interested to discover, incidentally, that cost-accounting practices may cause a firm to lose money.¹)

All this is not intended to deny to accounting an appropriate place in the commerce curriculum; but it is intended to say that the study of accounting in the commerce curriculum, in order that it should conform to the criteria laid down here, might in some respects have to depart from the professional curricula. Mr. Carr-Saunders has deprecated that "in England . . . the universities still provide no training for the great profession of accountancy, the members of which are coming to play an increasingly large part in contemporary life."² But it is unlikely that, if the universities began such a training, he would insist upon their conforming to the current professional curricula and standards.

¹ See R. H. Coase, *op. cit.*

² *Op. cit.*, p. 145.

AMERICAN CRIMINOLOGY AND PENOLOGY IN WAR TIME

By HERMANN MANNHEIM

UNDER present conditions only a tiny fraction of American production in the field of Criminology¹ reaches this country. Although it cannot be ascertained whether this selection, so largely determined by chance, is representative of the whole war-time output, it is no doubt worthy of the great tradition established in the years between the wars. Without introducing anything like an entirely new line of thought, most of the writings reviewed in this article are at least important milestones on the roads opened up during that exceptionally creative period.

For convenience' sake, one might perhaps reduce the most original achievements of modern American Criminology to six large sections:²

- (1) The pioneer work of *William Healy* and his collaborators on the psychological and psychiatric aspects of delinquency;
- (2) The sociological, methodological, and statistical investigations of *Thorsten Sellin*, *Edwin H. Sutherland*, and *Clifford Shaw*;
- (3) The follow-up studies of *Sheldon* and *Eleanor Glueck*;
- (4) The *local Crime Surveys*, now mainly continued as *Juvenile Delinquency Surveys*;
- (5) Reports on the work of individual *institutions* or types of institutions;
- (6) The work of the *American Law Institute*.

With the exception of the first mentioned, all these categories are represented in our present collection. Although one of the books, Professor Walter C. Reckless' *Criminal Behavior*,³ is actually a textbook, its centre of gravity lies so clearly in its methodological and sociological parts that there can be no doubt as to its proper classification under No. (2) of our list. Criminology is a hybrid science, and no criminologist can be expected to be equally at home in all its provinces. This book is written by a distinguished sociologist who has already made several valuable contributions to the study of the social factors in crime and juvenile delinquency. His treatment of the non-sociological issues is not throughout equal to the high standard of most of the other sections. The title *Criminal Behavior* is too narrow, as almost one-half of the book is devoted to problems of treatment. In one of the introductory chapters the question of how to define the conception of crime and the boundaries of Criminology are briefly discussed. The author repudiates Thorsten Sellin's recent attempt, in *Culture Conflict and Crime*, to replace the purely legalistic definition of crime as a violation of the criminal law by the sociological conception of crime as a violation of certain conduct norms. He seems inclined, however, to identify this problem with the entirely different question of "natural crime." Criminology as a science may have much to gain by accepting Sellin's basic idea. Granted the vagueness of

¹ In this article the term Criminology will be used as including Penology.

² Many more names with well-deserved reputation might be added to this brief list.

³ McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, Ltd., 1940, xi and 532 pp.

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his definition of conduct norms, it is probably more in accordance with the requirements of criminological research than the arbitrary limits imposed by the positive criminal law. Even if, as the author observes, these conduct norms are now neither systematically reported nor available for research this gap can be filled in future. The material collected at Child Guidance Clinics, by various disciplinary bodies and in similar places, might provide much information for the systematic study of violations of conduct norms which are not offences in the legal sense. There is another point of some importance that seems to have been overlooked so far in discussions on the subject: the old liberal principle "nullum crimen sine lege," which still holds good in the non-totalitarian world, with its principal corollary that criminal statutes require a narrow interpretation, excludes many actions from the jurisdiction of the Courts which are no less anti-social than crimes and are proper objects of study for the criminologist because of their close relationship to criminal behaviour. Under totalitarian legal systems this difficulty is less likely to arise because most actions that are regarded as anti-social by the powers that be can and will be treated as legal offences. It is impossible at present to foresee how long that liberal principle will hold its ground, but as long as it does there will be a need for an extension of criminological research beyond the legal boundaries.

The most characteristic feature of Professor Reckless' book is its scepticism. Taken as a whole, American Criminology has made a quick recovery from the severe shock received about ten years ago when Jerome Michael and Mortimer J. Adler in their *Crime, Law, and Social Science* questioned the scientific validity of most of the existing knowledge of the causes of crime, while at the same time Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck's first follow-up studies began to reveal the failure of the available methods of treatment. Those attacks, in particular the second one, have proved a blessing, as they have given rise to much heart-searching. Professor Reckless is inclined to stress more what is still undone than what has already been achieved in the search for causes. This is mainly a matter of individual temperament, and nobody will quarrel with him over that. However, he goes a step further. His main arguments, which run through and dominate the whole book, are (1) "the concept of causation is, after all, rather inapplicable to the study of social behavior" and (2) "there is no reason to assume that criminal behavior must be reduced to causative factors before we can understand and control it." In other words, the author has but little use for research into causes of crime, which he regards as "perhaps the greatest influence retarding the progress of criminology." Social behaviour is too complex to be explained in terms of cause and effect. Factual studies of age, sex, nationality, class, areal and regional variations are much more important. For treatment purposes it is preferable to compute "criminal risks," indicating the statistical chances of various categories of individuals becoming criminals than to search for the reasons for the existing differences. Research should be directed towards the knowledge of behaviour-forming processes rather than towards a segmental analysis of causes. Case studies are useful because they provide material for the description of patterning processes in behaviour. "While such research does not tell why human beings become criminal, it can describe how they become offenders." Our preventive efforts should aim at spots which are suspiciously active in the

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production of crime without waiting for an exact explanation of the causal factors at work. Except in the title there are no explicit references to Behaviourism in the book, and it can be left to the psychologist to examine how far that school has been responsible for the author's attitude. It may be recalled, however, that the founder of Behaviourism himself deemed it advisable to stress his interest in the causal approach.

Our quotations may have shown that truth and error are closely interwoven in the author's basic contentions. Granted that causal research into problems of crime is a lengthy and expensive undertaking, full of pitfalls. Granted further that practical schemes for prevention and cure cannot be kept in cold storage until all theoretical difficulties have been cleared away and that practical-treatment programmes in modern penal institutions may have to make quite deliberate distinctions between classification for treatment and classification according to causation.¹ All this does not prove, however, that the concept of causation is inapplicable in the field of the social sciences and that causal research can safely be replaced by a mere computation of differential crime risks. In fact, both are essential. In former times, criminologists not seldom made the mistake of regarding a causal nexus as proved where nothing but differential risks had been established. Now we have come to realize that the latter are merely signposts, which may occasionally point in the wrong direction. Nevertheless, the discovery of differential risks is of considerable practical value as they may indicate where causal research is most needed. Each of these two methods has continuously to be supplemented and checked by the other. The author suggests that "properly conducted preventive experiments can proceed on a problem before and without exact and certain knowledge of causation of any problem—in this case, of crime." Let us briefly examine what this might mean in practice. Supposing we find that in a certain district where clubs are scarce the rate of juvenile delinquency is strikingly higher than in neighbouring districts with an abundance of clubs. From this we may conclude that life in a district which is inadequately supplied with clubs means a high "crime risk" for boys and we may concentrate our crime-preventive programme on the setting up of new clubs without troubling much about the actual causal nexus between lack of clubs and juvenile delinquency in that particular area. Research into individual cases may reveal, however, that these juvenile delinquents are of a type which can be neither helped nor even reached by club work and that their offences are due to their unfavourable physical and mental endowment as well as to poverty, unemployment, and bad home conditions which prevent them from joining a club anyhow. Our efforts would therefore be doomed to failure because they left the real causes untouched. Or let us suppose that large-scale statistical investigations, not restricted to Court cases, show no conspicuous differences in delinquency between well-to-do and poor children. This may be interpreted as proving that poverty does not increase the "crime risk" and that preventive work need not concern itself with the economic side. Analysis of individual cases, however, may expose profound differences with regard to the causal factors

¹ See, e.g., as an example of this kind the treatment plan worked out in 1931 at the State Prison Colony, Norfolk, Mass., described in the Attorney-General's *Survey of Release Procedures*, Vol. V, Department of Justice, Washington, 1939, p. 150.

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involved, which may at once indicate the need for highly differentiated treatment of the two groups. The author's suggestion to scrap causal research altogether may have been the result partly of despair at the poor dividends hitherto achieved and partly of his narrow interpretation of the meaning of causation. To him, as to many others, causation means a hundred per cent. relationship between two phenomena. Social disorganization and instability, for instance, to which he devotes an excellent chapter and which he rightly regards as highly significant for the understanding of delinquent habits, are, nevertheless, not "causes" of crime because "many individuals . . . in an unstable social situation do not become offenders" and because "some individuals become violators even in a very stable society." Only the "opportunities or risks" are greater in socially unstable conditions. To such cautious use of the category of causation, whether it be based on philosophical or on purely terminological considerations, we have no objection. It can, however, justify neither the author's plea for a renunciation of causal research as such nor his contention that the study of differential crime risks is "undoubtedly more important than is the very dubious knowledge of causes." It will indeed be a dark day for Criminology when the search for causes is given up as futile.

The recent development of prediction methods by the Gluecks and others, to which special reference is made below, is taken by the author as further evidence of the superiority of the method of differential crime risks. It is, however, a somewhat one-sided interpretation of these famous studies to overlook their close connexion with causal research. The point made by the Gluecks in one of their earlier publications, and now again reproduced in *Juvenile Delinquents Grown Up* (p. 14), is that without comparable data concerning the general population no complete information about the causes of delinquency can be obtained, that this gap does not, however, "vitate all research into the makeup of delinquents. Even without information on certain characteristics of the non-delinquent population, a descriptive account of the makeup of offenders is of value in the practical task of understanding delinquent careers and determining upon modes of attack on the problems they present." In other words, non-causal research is regarded as a makeshift method only, forced upon us by the lack of control-group material and to be supplemented as much as possible by studies aiming at the discovery of causal relationships. This view is most clearly brought out in the last but one of the Glueck studies, *Later Criminal Careers*, which abounds with considerations of a causal character. Statistical correlations can be used for the construction of Prediction Tables only if they can be regarded as reflecting the quality of the causal nexus between the analysed factors and criminal behaviour. Of this the Gluecks have shown themselves fully conscious. On the one hand, there are in their studies frequent references to the "crucial question," the "mechanisms of causation," which "the clinician should do his utmost to determine," and the reader is warned that even consistent and substantial correlations between "certain major aspects of the life activities" of offenders and their delinquent conduct do not in themselves prove the existence of a causal relationship. On the other hand, it is rightly stressed that an examination of individual cases may occasionally give rise to misleading impressions as to the quality of certain factors as crime-producing elements in general and that

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such case studies should therefore be interpreted in the light of statistical mass analysis.¹

Closely connected with the author's disbelief in "causes" is his preference for "immediate" as contrasted with more remote causes. If there has to be a going back at all, let it at least be no more than a penny bus ride. "The more remote and indirect the influence of factors on behavior the more difficult it is to be certain of their effect on behavior of individuals." Therefore, "there is no more reason to say that illiteracy or bad housing is a cause of crime than there is to say that the male sex, the Negro race, young adulthood or urbanism are causes of criminal behavior." Apart from the fact that illiteracy and bad housing are evils which can perhaps be tackled with greater efficiency by the social reformer than the male sex, the Negro race, and young adulthood, this preference for more immediate causes, though easily understood, is not without its dangers. From the treatment point of view, the elimination of immediate causes may be of little avail because, as long as the underlying factors remain in being, other immediate factors may at once take the place of the one that has been neutralized. To take a typical example: the present campaign against the evil of Fun Fairs as one of the immediate causes of juvenile delinquency is certainly worth while in itself, but if nothing more is done to attack the underlying causes some other pests of a similar brand will no doubt grow up on the same soil. It is all very well for the author to charge men of the older sociological school like Bonger with having confused "social conditions and social liabilities of greater or lesser risk for criminality with causes of criminal behavior." It would be more accurate, however, to say that Bonger and his contemporaries were too uncritical in their handling of the very inadequate material at their disposal.

In spite of such criticisms it is definitely not a mere *façon de parler* to say that the book as a whole is one of the most stimulating criminological works of recent years. The author's wide knowledge of the literature, including that of the European Continent, and his remarkable gift of critical analysis, make his book valuable for the discriminating reader as well as for the beginner, though the latter may occasionally be deterred by so much negativism. The final chapters on prognosis and prevention are particularly remarkable instances of that gift. Although they, too, suffer from an overgreat dose of scepticism, the historical account and the exposition of the meaning of prevention will be of lasting value.

A slightly more optimistic note is struck in Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck's latest volume, *Juvenile Delinquents Grown Up*.² This is a follow-up study of a large number of juveniles (1,000 at the beginning of the investigation) who had appeared before the Boston Juvenile Court between the years 1917 and 1922 at the average age of thirteen and a half, had been examined by the Child Guidance Clinic of the Judge Baker Foundation and were followed up over a period of fifteen years. Whereas their careers during the first five-years span were the

¹ See *One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents*, p. 255; *Later Criminal Careers*, pp. 196-200, also 87, 103-6; *Juvenile Delinquents Grown Up*, pp. 124, 133.

² New York, The Commonwealth Fund; London, Humphrey Milford, 1940, viii and 330 pp. \$2.50 or 14s.

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subject of a previous book, *One Thousand Juvenile Delinquents*, published in 1934, the volume at present under review deals with the second and third five years of that period. As indicated above, the first study was chiefly responsible for the pessimism that has dominated considerable sections of American Criminology ever since. It may not be out of place to recall the principal reasons for that pessimism. There was, first of all, the excessive rate of recidivism among that group, *ca.* 85 per cent. at the end of the first five years. There were, moreover, certain weaknesses in the methods employed by Court and Clinic and inadequate collaboration between these two agencies. And there was, lastly, little evidence that the recommendations of the Clinic, even where they had been carried out, had achieved any noticeable success. Two fundamental questions were therefore put at the end of that survey: "Is it worth while retaining Clinic and Court?" Whereas the answer to this, accompanied by a detailed reform programme, was distinctly in the affirmative, no satisfactory reply could be given to the second question: "Why should we assume that a large part of delinquency and criminality can be 'cured' at all with the methods at present available?"

Against the largely negative results of that earlier investigation several positive points could be listed in the present volume: There has been a marked improvement in the subsequent behaviour of the group. The percentage of 14.6 of the original group who had abandoned their criminal activities during the first five years had risen to 26.8 during the second and to 36.6 during the third, and even among those who had remained criminal the percentage of serious offenders had dropped from 77.4 to 56.6 and 47.8. Moreover, the researches carried out by the authors and others have resulted in a considerable improvement in our knowledge of persistent criminal behaviour. Detailed comparisons between those who reformed and those who did not showed a great many resemblances as well as many different characteristics between the two groups, and a number of factors which might easily have been regarded as highly indicative of later recidivism failed to exhibit any statistical significance and vice versa. With the lengthening of the observation period its scope could be broadened. Whereas in the previous studies only the behaviour of offenders *after* peno-correctional treatment was brought into relation with their personal and environmental characteristics, the authors have been able in the present investigation to study the behaviour of their group *during* the various periods of treatment as well, in order to examine the susceptibility of individual types to the different treatment methods available. Although the material at the disposal of the authors was much too sketchy to warrant any general conclusions, some of their findings seem to be important enough to be borne in mind by those who are responsible for the selection of the most appropriate methods of treatment. The idea, first put forward by the authors in 1929, that the results of follow-up studies should be used to work out elaborate Prediction Tables for Criminal Courts and Boards of Parole, has made considerable progress in the intervening period. To discuss in detail the different techniques used by the authors and other workers in the same field, e.g. Burgess, Vold, Monachesi, and certain Continental criminologists, would exceed the space at our disposal. A brief but adequate survey is given in Professor Reckless' book.¹ In *Juvenile Delinquents Grown Up* eleven Prediction

¹ *Op. cit.*

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Tables are presented showing the respective success and failure scores for the five most significant characteristics and for the eight most important methods of treatment. As is frequently stressed by the authors, these Tables are not intended to replace other more individual methods of selecting the most appropriate method of treatment. They may, however, be more reliable than the hit-or-miss system which so largely dominates the present practice of the Courts. The latter, especially the Courts for adult offenders, have still frequently to rely upon incomplete and unreliable case histories. However, even if their average knowledge of the offender's personality were much better than it actually is, judges and magistrates may be inclined to pay too much attention to factors that have a special appeal to them without being actually significant. The austerity of a Prediction Table may be a wholesome antidote to subjective impressions and amateurish prejudices. The following three points should, however, be borne in mind for the future: First, excellent as the methods and techniques evolved by the authors are, their material would still seem to be somewhat too limited. Second, while these methods and techniques may profitably be used outside the U.S.A., the case material itself would have to be collected for each country separately for the construction of Prediction Tables. And, lastly, the results obtained should constantly be compared with the corresponding results of individual case studies on causation. This will help to make the Prediction Table appear less artificial and bridge the gap which still seems to exist between the two principal methods of criminological research. As far as this can be done within the framework of largely statistical investigations, the authors have in fact attempted to supply certain causal explanations for the noted improvement in the behaviour of their group, as well as for some of their other findings. As in their previous study on adult offenders, *Later Criminal Careers*, the principal conclusion arrived at in this respect is that the most forceful factor responsible for the settling-down process was maturation. Comparisons between that adult group and the present group seemed to prove, however, that maturation had to be interpreted as the arrival not at a certain chronological age but at an age a certain distance removed from the onset of the delinquent career. This result may give rise to two observations: First, it contradicts our established dogma that individuals who have started their criminal careers in early childhood are usually more difficult to cure than those who have made a late beginning. Second, is there not a slight danger that this concept of maturation as the cause of reform may be largely identical with the effect itself and that we may therefore have found that an offender reforms when he has reformed? The authors, who are not unaware of this danger, admit that "the next step in developing the theory of the relationship of maturation to delinquency and criminality is to dissect 'maturation' into its components," which task must be left to specialized disciplines such as psychiatry and biology. The process of maturation can be hastened in various ways. It is striking to see, however, how insignificant the part played by the different peno-correctional methods appears to be, according to the findings of the authors, compared with the influence of other environmental and with congenital factors. There are but few indications that the treatment in reformatories and by other correctional methods which many members of the group had to undergo in the course of these fifteen years has had any noticeable

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effect. This is worthy of note, especially in view of the unfavourable judgment passed upon these reformatories in the authors' previous study, and makes the reader all the more anxious to learn about the developments in reformatory treatment that have in the meantime taken place in the U.S.A.

An answer to this question is provided in two other recent books: Fred E. Haynes' *The American Prison System*,¹ and William Healy and Benedict S. Alper's *Criminal Youth and the Borstal System*.² Whereas Professor Haynes discusses the whole American prison system, including reformatories, Healy-Alper's study is limited to reformatories for men and for the most part devoted to a comparison between them and the English Borstal system. In view of the great numerical preponderance of offenders of those age groups most suitable for treatment in reformatories, the reform of these institutions has become one of the most urgent tasks before American experts of to-day. The material presented in Professor Thorsten Sellin's *The Criminality of Youth*³ shows that in the U.S.A. the peak age of delinquency is reached at a much later stage than in this country, probably in the early twenties. Haynes' as well as Healy-Alper's accounts of American reformatories to-day paint rather gloomy pictures, with only a few exceptions, of which Annandale (New Jersey) appears to be the most outstanding. The term "reformatory" is applied to a very mixed assortment of institutions in the various States. The degree of security provided by them differs as much as the age composition of their inmates and their methods of treatment. Although originally intended for the younger and more impressionable age groups, some of them take offenders up to thirty or even forty years of age, and others have no upper age limit at all. Their discipline, personnel, and buildings are very much like those of prisons, and most of them are much too big to make individualization of treatment a reality. Many of their shortcomings, as revealed in these two books, may be due to the fact that each State of the Union administers its own institutional system, which is bound to have an unfavourable effect upon the variety of institutional types available within each State. It is not surprising, therefore, that reformers in their search for new methods should have turned to the corresponding English reformatory system which combines centralized administration with individualization of treatment. A few months before the outbreak of the war, the veteran of American criminologists, Dr. William Healy, and his young colleague, Benedict S. Alper, arrived in this country to study the Borstal system. Although the projected year of intimate work in the various Borstal institutions by the junior author was cut short by war-time necessities, the authors have managed to produce an extraordinarily reliable and comprehensive survey of the system as a whole as well as of the characteristics of each of the nine institutions for boys (the girls' side of the system is not included). There is no other book on the subject that could be equally recommended to the serious student. Whereas most of the older books on Borstal are either unduly sentimental or over-critical to the point of unfairness, Healy and Alper have succeeded in avoiding these two extremes. They are not afraid to expose the few weak

¹ McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, Ltd., 1939, vii and 377 pp.

² New York, The Commonwealth Fund; London, Humphrey Milford, 1941, vii and 251 pp. \$1.50.

³ Philadelphia, The American Law Institute, 1940.

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spots of the system, particularly its comparative neglect of the possibilities of psychological treatment for abnormal offenders. "One finds in the Borstal System no consistent attempt to diagnose these cases, understand their peculiarities, or determine the proportion of them among the recidivists. . . . It is true, as the Borstal people say, that we in America have concerned ourselves more with psychiatric classification of offenders in institutions and with statistical researches, while the Borstal System has been devoted to experiments in treatment. But the two approaches are by no means incompatible; indeed, in a scientifically well-oriented program both are indispensable. Treatment not based on diagnosis or etiology is not in line with the effective development of therapy in medicine or any of the biological sciences." Words which are particularly worth quoting in view of Professor Reckless' heresies. Reference is made to the experiments in psychological treatment for Borstal boys at Wormwood Scrubs made in connexion with the Prison Commission's larger scheme for prisoners,¹ but, the authors add, "as might have been expected, so far as the Borstal lads were concerned since they were transferred for such treatment to a typical prison atmosphere, as well as for other reasons, the outcomes were largely unsatisfactory." All the more important is the strong recommendation made in the East-Hubert Report, and repeated in the last published Report of the Prison Commissioners, to establish a "penal institution of a special kind" which would, among other purposes, facilitate the clinical study and treatment of certain types of offenders under suitable conditions. This will clearly be one of the first steps in penal reform to be undertaken after the war. Further criticisms by Healy and Alper refer to the "rather superficial" character of the case histories given in Borstal records, to the lack of "thorough-going, scientifically oriented" follow-up investigations on the lines of the Glueck studies, and lastly to what the authors regard as an insufficient maximum period of training and parole. The present statutory maximum of four years for Borstal training plus licence may indeed be inadequate and an extension of a few years desirable. War-time necessities, which have led to a further shortening of the average period of training, have once more shown the great importance of the time factor. The final judgment of the authors, however, is extremely favourable and pays just tribute to the high achievements of the Prison Commissioners and the staffs of individual Borstal institutions. Referring to the model *Youth Correction Authority Act* of the American Law Institute (see below) they indicate how a reformatory system on Borstal lines might be incorporated in the scheme envisaged by the Institute. This suggestion is already having practical repercussions in American penological thought and planning where the Borstal system is beginning to occupy a place of honour. In two interesting publications of the year 1942, which are briefly reviewed below, "Young People in the Courts of New York State" and "Report to the Judicial Conference of the Committee on Punishment for Crime," the Borstal system is described and its introduction in the U.S.A. recommended.

Professor Haynes' book may be read in connexion with the Attorney-General's *Survey of Release Procedures*, Vol. V, Prisons, published in the same year by the Department of Justice in Washington. These two books supplement each other

¹ See W. Norwood East and W. H. de B. Hubert, *The Psychological Treatment of Crime*, H.M. Stationery Office, 1939.

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admirably and give together a comprehensive view of the present American prison system. Whereas the official survey aims at completeness and cannot therefore devote much space to individual institutions, the private investigator has been able to concentrate on certain particularly promising experiments. One of his chapters is entirely devoted to a description of the "community prison" at Norfolk, Mass., which the author regards as the most outstanding reform prison in the whole of the Union. It may be noted that the distinction between "house officers" and "watch officers," which he calls "a unique feature of the administration" at Norfolk, is also one of the most valuable characteristics of the Borstal system. As the author was not familiar with this system at the time of writing he could not hold it up as an example. There is, however, another feature of the English prison system that he describes as indispensable for the reform of American penal institutions: its centralization under the Act of 1877. The various methods of classification used in the U.S.A. are fully described in a separate chapter which well repays thorough study in conjunction with the corresponding section of the official survey. The three crucial tests for any classification work of this kind are: where is it to be carried out? how? and for what purpose? Only a few of the American States possess their special classification centres or receiving prisons from where each prisoner is allocated to the institution most suitable for him, something on the lines of the Borstal Classification Centre or to the Belgian Observation Centres. For the greater part, classification is carried out, if at all, in a special wing of the prison in which the prisoner is going to serve his sentence unless there are special reasons for his transfer to another institution. There can be little doubt that the first system is preferable, and in particular for young offenders it is essential not only that there should be proper classification but also that it should not be done in a prison. It is one of the weaknesses of the present Borstal system that young offenders have to spend many weeks in prison before being sent to the actual classification centre. For those of Juvenile Court age the establishment of special observation centres has been one of the principal points in every reform programme in this country at least since the publication of the Report on the Treatment of Young Offenders in 1927. It is good news that, as a first instalment, a "classifying school" has now been opened by the Home Office in Durham for the purpose of studying boys committed to Approved Schools before sending them to the most suitable institution. In future the need will be not only for further schools of this type in other districts but also for properly staffed Remand Centres where young offenders can be observed before committal in order to enable the Court to take the appropriate action. Similar places will be needed for adults. For the working out of efficient methods of classification, in addition to the experiences gathered by the Borstal authorities, the information given in Haynes' book and the Attorney-General's Survey might prove of great value. The practical purpose of classification is comparatively easy to grasp where its aim is to determine the choice of institution to which the offender has to go, or to determine whether he should undergo institutional treatment at all. It is much more difficult where it is expected to determine the methods of treatment within the same institution. Here the Attorney-General's Survey is considerably more sceptical than Professor Haynes. "Frequently," it is stated,

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"information gathered remains in the file from admission to the date of parole hearing. In only a comparatively few institutions is it used as yet as a basis for classification, for mapping out an active institutional program for inmates, or for checking up on the progress made by inmates during their incarceration," and the final conclusion reached in this chapter of the Survey is: "The understanding of individual criminals and their needs disclosed by the classification procedure makes essential new types of penal institutions, new prison programs, and a recognition of the limitations of the penitentiary as a reformatory agency." Significantly enough, Professor Haynes calls his concluding chapter "Abolition of the Prison System," and both books can only confirm our conviction that the days of imprisonment as a method of mass treatment of lawbreakers are largely over. What remains of it will have to employ much more scientific methods of selection and treatment in order to survive.

Neither criminological research, whether it may be on the lines suggested in *Criminal Behavior* or on predictability or on causes, nor reformatory and prison reform as advocated by Healy-Alper, Haynes, and the Survey, can be expected to produce the desired changes unless the work of the Courts is also brought into line with the new scientific attitude. Penal reform is, in the long run, unthinkable without Court reform. The most accomplished Prediction Tables, Community Prisons, and Classification Centres will be of limited usefulness if their practical application is hampered by amateurish and out-of-date judges and magistrates. Nor can even an ideal probation officer do his work properly if he lacks the backing of an enlightened bench. It is not surprising, therefore, that a large part of recent American reform work has been concerned with the future position of the Courts. There are two possible ways open to the reformer, which can also be combined: either to improve the constitution and procedure of the Courts, or to restrict their powers. Our present survey would be seriously incomplete if it omitted any reference to the great efforts that are being made in the U.S.A. in both directions. The second, that is the more radical, solution is suggested and in part already carried to victory for one important age group of offenders by the Criminal Justice—Youth Committee of the American Law Institute. This representative body, which counts among its twelve members experts of great international reputation such as William Healy, Sheldon Glueck, Thorsten Sellin, and Judge Joseph N. Ulman, published in 1940 a model *Youth Correction Authority Act*, the adoption of which it recommends to the individual States of the Union. Only a year later, the first Act of this kind was passed by the State of California, and the idea is stated to have found organized support in ten other States as well as on the part of the Federal Government. The essence of this scheme, which is concerned only with offenders between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, is in brief that, except for the most serious crimes on the one hand and petty offences on the other, the task of the Courts is restricted to the finding of guilt and certain controlling functions. In actual practice this will mean that in cases in which the Court would under the previous system have sentenced the offender to detention in a prison or reformatory or have placed him on probation it is now deprived of this power. In its place, a new administrative body, the "Youth Correction Authority," will not only have the choice between these methods of

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treatment but may also establish and run its own institutions. Existing institutions it will be able to use, not, however, to take them over or to control them. The effect of this change will be, first, to make this section of the penal system more uniform, to ensure a much closer co-operation between its various branches, and to enable the new Authority to transfer offenders from probation to institutional treatment and vice versa. Second, it will largely deprive the Courts of the direction of penal policy and put an administrative body in their place, thus challenging one of the traditional principles of the liberal era. This is not the place for a detailed analysis of the reasons and justification for this challenge, which has certainly not come like a thunderbolt from the blue sky. Judges and magistrates have done much to undermine their own position. In the words of the New York Report, it is a "well-known fact that judges not only do not visit institutions but that they do not interest themselves—for one reason or another—in the treatment and training of cases which they have sentenced, nor in the continuity of the cases which they have committed to institutions. . . . They are expected to be expert diagnosticians and therapists in problems of individual adjustment; it is not sufficient for them, nowadays at least, simply to commit their cases to the supervision of institutions, probation officers, and private agencies and then to forget them." As a consequence, important functions have already been taken from them in the course of the past decades in the U.S.A. as well as in this country, not to speak of totalitarian systems. It is therefore not entirely without reason that the American Law Institute and its principal spokesmen, in their numerous publications devoted to the model Act, have been steadfastly denying the revolutionary character of this scheme which is, in their view, merely making a real system out of scattered and incoherent ideas. The other possible solution, aiming at reform rather than at elimination of the Criminal Courts, also has its supporters in the U.S.A. There is first "Young People in the Courts of New York State," a Report submitted to the Legislature of the State of New York in 1942 by a Joint Legislative Committee created to study the existing facilities for the care and treatment of children and minors coming under the jurisdiction of the Children's and Adult Courts of the State. This comprehensive document, written by Mr. Benedict S. Alper, the Research Director of the Committee, recommends, among numerous other changes, the setting up of Youth Courts for offenders between sixteen and nineteen, with special powers and a special procedure on Chancery Court lines adapted to the needs of this age group. Experiences in America as well as in this country have indeed shown that the present gap between Juvenile and Adult Courts is too wide and should be bridged by the establishment of special Courts or at least special Departments for adolescent offenders on the model of some American cities. However, the Report is not fundamentally opposed to the plan of the American Law Institute and recommends its further consideration "with a view to its application to New York State as an advanced procedure for the handling of adolescent offenders after the State has had further experience with the system of youth courts recommended by this report." In the "Report to the Judicial Conference of the Committee on Punishment for Crime," which is the work of a Committee of American federal judges appointed by the Chief Justice of the United States, the need for the reform of Court procedure in general and especially with regard to

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adolescent offenders is fully recognized. Nevertheless, the judges are, naturally enough, not in favour of renouncing their powers to the extent proposed by the American Law Institute and advocate a compromise solution. For adults it is suggested to leave the choice of sentence in their hands, except for sentences of more than one year. If in the opinion of the judge a longer sentence is necessary he has to consult an expert "Board of Correction," consisting of ten members and appointed by the Attorney-General, which shall within six months after the offender's reception in a penal institution recommend the exact length and character of his sentence. This recommendation, however, shall not be binding but can be set aside by the judge provided he states his reasons for doing so. This means, in the words of the Report, that "the judge reviews the Board and not the Board the judge." The Board of Correction shall have the fullest opportunity to observe the offender under confinement and to study his reactions. It shall also constitute a Board of Parole which shall be competent to determine the later discharge of the offender on parole. For offenders under twenty-four years of age it is suggested that the Court shall always be free to commit the offender to the custody of the Board for treatment and supervision in institutions and under conditions determined by the Board. The maximum period of detention shall be four years and the maximum period of detention plus licence six years. As far as this scheme is concerned with young offenders it differs in various ways from the model Act of the American Law Institute. It leaves it to the discretion of the judge whether he chooses to commit the case to the Board. He is free to make a probation order or to impose a prison sentence. However, if a sentence of more than one year is deemed necessary the same procedure shall be employed as for adult offenders. On the other hand, the scheme proposed by the judges shall apply to offenders up to twenty-four, whereas the model Youth Correction Authority Act deals only with those under twenty-one.

This is not the place for detailed criticism of these proposals. Our first impression may be that it may prove difficult to find first-class experts who are willing to serve on a Board with only advisory powers regarding length and character of the sentence, a Board which can so easily be overruled by the judge. Closer examination shows, on the other hand, that even so the functions of the Board of Correction will in some ways exceed those of the Prison Commissioners in this country. The English judge is completely free to impose long-term sentences of imprisonment or penal servitude without even having to consult the Commissioners, and all the latter can do is to transfer suitable offenders of Borstal age to Borstal institutions, which may sometimes be too late to undo the evil effect of prison. Moreover, it has to be noted that the maximum period of detention plus licence is to be two years longer than under the Borstal system, which corresponds to Healy-Alper's suggestions.

It will be no easy undertaking for the legislator of the future to find the right balance between the powers of the judiciary and those of the administration in the field of criminal justice. Whatever our individual views on the matter may be we are sure to derive much benefit from the closest study of these bold American experiments.

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THE BEGGAR. By Harlan W. Gilmore. *The University of North Carolina Press*, 1940. \$2.50 net.

Mr. Gilmore has written a book which is of first importance to the sociologist and to the social worker. Much has been written on crime and juvenile delinquency, but this is the first serious study of professional begging, which is invariably the first step in the life of the criminal or delinquent.

Every generation has produced the man who will not work and the man who takes to begging as a means of escape from a difficult situation, sometimes physical, sometimes economic. The habit of begging calls for scientific study and treatment. Once acquired, the best legislation, the most punitive or the most sympathetic measures are of little avail. Not until the professional beggar can be treated as a pathological subject and studied as an individual can hope of remedial success be entertained.

As Mr. Gilmore points out, the greatest obstacle to individual study and treatment is undoubtedly the indiscriminate giving which is almost a natural result of a skilful emotional appeal. The casual copper given for pity's sake, the parcel of food, the hours of pretence of work in the garden are all factors of prime importance in formulating the habits and technique of the beggar. It is in this way that beggars are made—and always by the would-be philanthropist. It is a paradox to which only the real philanthropist can provide the solution.

Mr. Gilmore's chapter on the technique of begging reads like a novel. It shows how each successful mendicant masters the principles of his art:

"The beggar's first principle is to depict to his audience a tale of woe in the quickest time possible. Without any scenery, except such as the street corner or the office affords, he must seize the attention of a transient and uninterested audience and in a single moment portray a story of tragedy, and do it forcefully enough to gain the sympathy of his audience and bring forth gifts against their intentions. True he leaves details to the imagination, but that is his art. Even so, his task is not so simple or so easy as one might think."

Mr. Gilmore gives an example which is of particular interest to the British Social Worker. He describes a night in a shadowy street when in the semi-darkness a woman, appearing to be in a well-advanced state of pregnancy, and having a small child with her, begins to light matches and look anxiously along the pavement. Upon enquiry she reveals that she has lost her purse containing all her money. She lives, so she says, in a distant suburb. Mr. Gilmore may be interested to learn of the English counterpart to his American lady. For fifteen years Mrs. Thomas has travelled between Charing Cross and London Bridge. Throughout these years she has been in an advanced state of pregnancy, invariably on her way to a sister to deposit her young child before going into the Maternity Hospital. Her fellow-travellers' attention is attracted by a cry of alarm and a frantic search under the carriage seat. Her purse has gone, her ticket and all her money. She has to change at London Bridge and has barely five minutes to work her act. How successfully she does it is related in more

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than three hundred letters written to the Charity Organisation Society by travellers who, having given enough to see the lady to the Maternity Hospital, desire to be assured that she is being cared for and comforted in her loss.

The question of how much beggars earn is examined in detail by Mr. Gilmore. He gives many authenticated examples of lucrative results accruing from the well-thought-out and dramatically presented appeal. He cites the case of a young man who "simulating palsy with horrifying verisimilitude" obtained twenty-eight dollars from two blocks of apartments. Here, again, we can cap Mr. Gilmore's story with that of the young man who, knocking at the door, asks for water and collapses in a fit on the doorstep. After many months of patient enquiry he was found to live in a south-coast town from which he travelled daily to London to practise his art. His landlady by the sea spoke of him as a wealthy young stock-broker in the City, returning each evening to a life of gaiety and luxury. In his suite of rooms were found more than fifty empty whisky bottles, which no doubt helped him to recuperate after his many fits in town.

Mr. Gilmore concludes his study with a review of the measures taken to control begging. He puts his finger on the spot when he claims that a necessary corollary to control is a clear conception of the causation of begging. Mr. Gilmore examines at length the argument that begging is mainly due to the failure of our economic system to provide work for all. He reaches no definite conclusion and gives the impression that he is baffled by the human factor, since countries which have an elaborate system of public social relief still have to solve the problem of the professional beggar. Legislation by itself has in this country proved insufficient. The elaborate schemes of relief for the blind have not seriously depleted the numbers of blind persons who find it more profitable to beg than to avail themselves of the assistance which they can claim as a right. There will be general agreement with Mr. Gilmore in his claim that the remedy lies not in legislation but in the education of public opinion. This education might succeed if the public could be interested in the social services provided by the State. When the ordinary citizen takes the trouble to learn what provision the State has made to deal with destitution in its many forms, then the music of the erstwhile violinist, the pathos of the strong, silent matchseller, and the story of the lost purse will lose something of the emotional appeal to the citizen's ignorance on which is founded the psychology of begging.

B. E. ASTBURY.

BASIC CONCEPTS IN SOCIAL CASE WORK. By Herbert H. Aptekar.
University of North Carolina Press, 1941. \$2.50 net.

This carefully illustrated discussion of case work method is an interesting example of the different kinds of values and methods which have developed in the United States during the past fifteen years. Scanning the chapter headings the British reader might wonder through what climate of thought he was to be led—whether into some new doctrine of mystical experience, a theory of education, or a branch of psychotherapy. For example: *The Concept of Ambivalence. Will and Denial. Relationship. Movement. Projection and Identification. Focus and Level.* The author does not leave us in doubt. He is discussing, as his title implies, ideas

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and methods which he takes to be of the essence of any social service using personal relationship as its main channel, and using it in a professional way. That his own approach follows a particular philosophic outlook and an interpretation of the meaning of human relationship peculiar to this point of view, he acknowledges in his introduction. Trained and experienced in what has become known as the Philadelphian method, which is based upon the theories of Otto Rank and was first translated into terms of social case work by Virginia Robinson, he claims that this is valid for all types of family case work, whether it involves material relief or not.

The main characteristic of this point of view lies in its emphasis upon the interchange of attitude between the client and the social worker, an interchange which must take place whenever help is sought, whether for material or for personal difficulties. The chief aim of social case work must, in his view, be the development of personality, since no constructive change in social relations or in conditions of living can take place without this development. The discipline of personal relationship is therefore intrinsic to the art of case work, and unless the social worker masters this discipline she has no right to set up shop as a practitioner. Knowledge is necessary to the discipline, but intellectual understanding alone will not enable her to foster growth. "In case work . . . skill is much less related to knowledge than to *personality development*. . . . The psychology of social case work is in a sense a psychology of personal development. The principles of such psychology should be principles applicable not only to the growth of the client, but also to the development of the worker."

In practice the case worker should be able, so to speak, to feel the pulse of the particular social and personal stress through which the client is passing at the time his own resources break down and he asks for social service. In this very act, the author holds that conflict is invariably present. Each person presents conflicts peculiar to himself and to his own situation, but common to all is the desire for help and the resistance to dependency. If true development is to take place, the case worker must be able to help the individual to live through and to accept both these aspects of his experience, for only in doing so will he be strengthened to meet the problems of his own life. But the social worker can only offer this kind of service if she is herself identified with the purpose and methods of the organization she serves, if she is completely honest about both in her relation with the client, and if every step in the process is worked out together. The limits set by the function, the regulations, and the staff of the agency and even by the time and place of interviews, rightly used, become an educational experience for the client in discovering both the opportunities and limitations of his own social life, and in learning to use and, if necessary, to tolerate them. It is in this sense that social case work differs from psychotherapy. The social worker only enters into personal problems in so far as they impinge upon social difficulties and fall within the scope of the organization. But she must be able to understand personal attitudes and to respond to them without the interference of her own emotional vested interests.

Social workers should read this book if only for its value in questioning their own principles and practice. In many ways it is an irritating discussion, and the quality of expression does not seem to do justice to the wisdom which the author

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shows in some of the interviews he describes and in the general sense of his ideas. At a time when efforts are being made towards clearer thinking about mental processes difficult to define there seems little excuse for using widely accepted terms, such as *ambivalence*, *will*, *projection*, *identification*, and *recognition* in quite different senses. Other words should be used if other meanings have made themselves clear to the author, or at least a good reason should be given for the change of definition. There is a curious naïvety about some of the comments which will deter even sympathetic readers and offer easy openings to those who are not. Sentences such as "it is so important to deal with him (i.e. the client) psychologically," or "case work is an ethical profession," read poorly in a book written for professional purposes.

Published a year later than Gordon Hamilton's *Theory and Practice of Social Case Work* reviewed in the last number of this Journal, this book represents one point of view included in her much more balanced and comprehensive study, and bears no comparison to the latter work in its value as a guide to social case workers of the present time.

S. CLEMENT BROWN.

THE DEMOCRATIC IDEAL IN FRANCE AND ENGLAND. By David Thomson. Cambridge University Press, 1940. 3s. 6d. net.

"This little essay . . .," says its author, "is an analysis of the chief characteristics of that democratic conception of society which has emerged in a particular set of circumstances: in the conditions of France and England during the last two and a half centuries." This is a vast subject, as yet far too little explored. It is all the more to the credit of Dr. Thomson that, within the somewhat narrow confines of space set by the Series on "Current Problems" to which this book belongs, he should have succeeded in producing an interesting and suggestive contribution which should prove thoroughly readable to the non-expert.

Comparison between the political experiences and methods of the two countries naturally tends to the stressing of differences. But the similarities are more important, and it is, even more, the study of *their* causation that leads to an understanding of "the democratic ideal," its institutional and methodological application, and the pitfalls which beset its development. That is the field to which this book belongs. Nor does it omit to touch upon that other aspect of comparison to which generally far too little attention is devoted—the interrelations of influence between the two experiences. It is strange, indeed, how often the political scientist wears the blinkers of his own national experience, examining the problems of "the state" in terms solely of that which he knows best, and proceeding to proclaim universal generalizations from his study of the particular and limited. One needs, it would seem, to be a good European in order to produce a comparison which sets differences in true proportion to similarities.

Why does the French President occupy so closely corresponding a position in the Third Republic to that of the King in the British Constitution? Is it because the "most rational and practical of bodies" planning for one of the "most politically experienced of nations" decides that such a formal head of the state

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was necessary—i.e. a universal? Is it because of the desire to facilitate the restoration of the monarchy in France—i.e. an internal condition? Or is it the British analogy? Such an example, out of many, suggests the wealth of neglected opportunities lying in this field of research.

Dr. Thomson writes an able and interesting comparative account of the two historical developments, and it in no way detracts from the value of his analysis that there should be room for disagreement on details. Such briefly summarized generalization and rapid review makes this inevitable. The responsibility of Louis XIV for the survival to the present day of French provincialism through his failure to clear the "feudal jungle" of competing jurisdictions is one case in point. Another is the attribution to the lateness of the development of a strong central government, of the responsibility for the adoption of the separation of powers as a guiding principle. Such at least are subjects upon which much interesting discussion could develop. Another which Dr. Thomson does not venture upon—and he is no doubt wise!—is the differences (or similarities?) between the causes of French and British administrative weakness in the last ten years.

H. R. G. GREAVES.

THE AWAKENING OF WESTERN LEGAL THOUGHT. By Max Hamburger. Translated by Bernard Miall. *George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.*, 1942. 10s. 6d. net.

In a somewhat unusual sense this is a topical book. The present challenge to the European heritage has made us dimly aware that underneath our many and manifold conceptions of Law, Justice, and the State there lies a common foundation of ideas of which we were not always conscious as long as they remained unquestioned. Dr. Hamburger has made an important contribution to the historical analysis of some of these ideas. The title of his book is misleading. It does not deal with law only, but embraces some chapters of the early history of Greek thought on Society and the State, on Justice and on International Relations. What the author set out to do was to collect all the pre-Socratic material which is apt to throw any light on the development of the social and political philosophy of the Greeks. In doing so, he did not confine his attention to the philosophical sources in the accepted and technical sense of the word—to the Pythagoreans and the Eleatics, to Heraclitus, Empedocles and Democritus, to Anaxagoras, Protagoras, Gorgias and the other Sophists. He extended his research to the poets and historians, from Hesiod and Pindar to the three great Tragedians and Aristophanes, from Herodotos to Thucydides. The result is not only a comprehensive catalogue of quotations, but a veritable thesaurus of ideas, well arranged and explained, and of profound interest to any reader concerned with the social sciences. The present reviewer is not qualified to judge the accuracy and completeness of Dr. Hamburger's collection and analysis from the philosophical and philological point of view, but he confesses that, as a lawyer, he has found a great deal of stimulating thought in the book.

Thus, to the philosophical layman it is something of a discovery to find that what we may call the dialectical nature of law was one of the corner-stones of sophistic philosophy. Legal thinking constitutes a continual compromise between

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the syllogistic deduction, with the help of which a given set of facts is subsumed under a pre-existing norm, and the teleological process in the mind of the judge who desires to arrive at a solution which to him appears equitable in the light of his own conception of a just order of society. This conflict between logic and teleology reflects the struggle between certainty and justice which is inherent in the very nature of law. It makes the dialectical method of legal argument a matter of practical necessity. Dr. Hamburger shows how the analysis of this dialectical nature of the judicial process was prepared by Heraclitus and by Empedocles, and consummated in the sophistic theory of "dissoi logoi." The much-maligned precept "to make the weaker cause appear as the stronger" is—despite Aristophanes' gibes in the *Clouds*—nothing but a practical application of the theory of juridical dialectics. The author also proves that the famous Aristotelian doctrine of equity is closely connected with the dialectical method evolved by the Sophists.

The second part of the book is an attempt to summarize in a systematic way the social and political ideas the history of which had been told in the first part. It is astonishing to find how little new there is in some of the theoretical and practical problems we have to confront. Do we punish *quia peccatum est* or *ne peccetur*? Thucydides discusses the question. What is, or should be, the relationship between arbitration and the administration of justice? The difficulty was known to Hesiod. Is there a valid distinction between *bellum iustum* and *bellum non iustum*, and, if so, what reference has it to the rights and duties of neutrals? Thucydides could not fail to give us some valuable ideas on this burning problem when he was analysing the complex situation in Greece at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.

The shortcomings of Dr. Hamburger's approach are most apparent where he deals with the notion of equality. Throughout the book he seeks to show "eternal truths," and this desire induces him to overemphasize the immutability of human ideas and sometimes to overlook their social background. Slavery is not sufficiently discussed, and the author fails to show the difference between the Greek concept of political equality of citizenship and the modern postulate of social equality. His own political philosophy is very distinctly that of individualistic liberalism, and he does not show himself very familiar with other modern political and social doctrines. We find the astonishing statement that "in proportion as State initiative replaces private initiative, so does this form of paternal government lead to an impoverishment of the individual personality. Man is degraded from the status of a personality to that of a herd animal." This lack of familiarity with the factual conditions of modern industrial society is also reflected in the author's all too melancholy approach to modern civilization as a whole, in a certain romanticism which makes him condemn our technical age outright and glorify the past.

The great merits of the book—which is admirably translated—are not affected by these and similar blemishes. (The description of the Solonic cancellation of debts as a "deflationary measure" is presumably a *lapsus calami*.) It is the kind of book one likes to keep near one's desk for reference, and it is a great gift to those who must deny themselves the pleasure of reading the primary sources.

O. KAHN-FREUND.

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RADIO'S LISTENING GROUPS: THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN. By F. E. Hill and W. E. Williams. *Columbia University Press*, 1941.

This book consists of two separate reports on radio listening groups, one relating to the United States and one to Great Britain, together with a much shorter summary of the experience in the same field of certain European countries. Both the American and the British reports are based on detailed questionnaires circulated amongst group listeners and their leaders, as well as on visits by the authors (each of whom is separately responsible for his own report and conclusions) to actual groups in being.

Both authors agree in the conclusion that the radio listening group is essentially a secondary form of education. The American report has indeed a definitely more enthusiastic tone than that of Mr. Williams on group listening in this country. This may be due to temperamental differences in the authorship; or it may be the reflection of one point in which the experience of the two countries seems to differ noticeably. Summing up his review of the American groups Mr. Hill writes: "In general, they (the radio listening groups) command more industry on the part of their members than the non-radio discussion groups. . . . Few other agencies in adult education bring people together so frequently—let us remember than 59 out of 105 groups reporting met weekly for a considerable portion of the year, or for all of it. Few other agencies combine listening with a lecture or prepared talk, extensive discussion by group members, and a reasonable amount of study." In Great Britain, where adult education had developed on a considerable scale in just this form before radio was ever heard of, the listening group tends to be a pale imitation, rather than a more exalted version, of the serious discussion class.

In his opening chapter on *Some Fundamental Considerations*, Mr. Williams has some very good sense to say about the limitations of the whole business of gathering together to hear and discuss a talk in the absence of the talker himself. Anyone who has been present at a large number of listening groups "cannot fail to be struck by the fact that more often than not the discussion is *ersatz*." Partly, Mr. Williams points out, this is due to "the discussion fetish" which has tended to dominate the English idea of adult education. If discussion is to be effective, Mr. Williams very wisely remarks, it must be based on "some preliminary knowledge of the subject." Adult education has too often gone to work on the assumption that knowledge and wisdom can be indefinitely advanced by a discussion which ranges round and round the same pin-head basis of relevant knowledge. The strength of this tradition, and the established position of the adult education interests, were to some extent responsible for the eagerness with which the zealots pounced on the "wireless talk" as one more occasion for discussion: only too often to find that the difficulties of fruitful discussion are multiplied a hundredfold when the lecturer is, as Mr. Williams says, literally "talking in the air," and "cut off from all opportunity of noting his audience's response to his argument."

Nevertheless, the wireless has taught the adult educationists some lessons that they badly needed to learn. It has taught them not to be so "damnably myopic

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about really elementary educational needs." If radio has made it possible for all and sundry to listen to the highest authorities expounding a wide variety of topics, it has equally made it possible for the ordinary man to hear himself and his likes discussing the things that interest and concern him in his own language. Some of this (thanks to the particular limitations of our B.B.C.) has been pretty artificial and self-conscious so far. But the idea is all right, and much will be made of it before we have finished.

Both the authors of this book include useful surveys of the actual methods of organization of listening groups in their respective countries, and of the relation of the groups to other societies interested, and to the broadcasting authorities. Anybody who wants to act as midwife to a wireless listening group, or to nurse one through its infancy, or to diagnose the weaknesses of a group that is failing, will find exhaustive data to help him in these studies, which are a veritable manual for the corporate listener. The over-zealous will derive much sober wisdom from Mr. Hill's chapter on *Advice for the Ambitious*, and should reflect also on Mr. Williams' wholesome reminder that "the extent and growth of group listening must always be considered in relation to the massive organization and impressive expenditure by which this movement has been sustained by the B.B.C. If several other movements in adult education had been given such expensive and continuous blood transfusions their rate of progress would certainly have been more notable."

BARBARA WOOTTON.

IDEOLOGIES AND AMERICAN LABOR. By Paul K. Crosser. *Oxford University Press*, 1941. 14s. net.

This book starts from the assumption that "the difference between an 'ideology' and a 'theory' is that an ideology is a theory placed against a political, economic, and social background. While a theory merely states a causal-genetic relationship, an ideology is teleological in its very postulation." That is how we begin, and that is also a fair sample of the style of what follows.

The first part of the book, occupying slightly more than half the pages of text, is all to do with ideology, and has hardly anything to say about American labour. Indeed, there are only a few incidental references in these chapters to the American continent at all. The author's thesis appears to be (translated into language very different from his own) something like this. Western civilization, in its economic aspect, has passed through three phases. The first was that of ecclesiastical authority, when the Church looked after the rights and wrongs of economic relationships. The second was that of the free market, when it was hoped that everything would come right if everybody looked after himself. The third is the period of class struggle, when the pretence that everybody's interest neatly coincides with everybody else's is abandoned, and the capitalist sweats the worker all he can.

But to put it this way is to do scant justice to the author's presentation. Let us quote his own commentary on these three ages of economic man. "These three conceptions are characteristic of qualitative divisions in basic assumptions directing social analysis. A qualitative distinction expresses the historical

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content of the metaphysical form. A qualitative analysis can make use of quantitative methods. But a quantitatively endorsed argument does not in itself reach the heights of a qualitative distinction. Neither can a pragmatic approach rule over qualitative alternatives. Pragmatism is concerned with the most effective correlation of means to ends. A qualitative analysis involves, however, a redirection of ends regardless of the convenience of means. In this regard an ideological analysis is qualitative in its very essence."

So now we know.

Reduced to what I imagine (I hope rightly, but an author who writes thus must expect sometimes to be misunderstood) is its essential meaning, this thesis does not seem to be strikingly original. Some of it has been brilliantly said before, with a wealth of illustrative detail by Dr. Tawney in his *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*. But the gifted author of that delightful study would probably be surprised to learn that he had "undertaken a correlation of neo-ecclesiastical concepts with the rise of the merchant economy" which demonstrated that "the intensification in the development of the merchant economy effected a gradual narrowing of the neo-ecclesiastical concepts and a complementary expansion of the sphere of secular ideology."

The second part of the thesis also seems (again, if I interpret it rightly) to be somewhat familiar. It apparently amounts to saying that the ideas of one period live on into the practice of the next, and that we generally try to explain ourselves in terms, and to some extent also govern our behaviour by standards, that are already out of date. In the later chapters of the book the author shows how this has been true of American labour. When the artisan economy had already had its day, the Knights of Labor were talking the language of the "fraternal journeyman." When the skilled craftsman is daily losing out to the machine minder, the American Federation of Labor can think only in terms of the threat to the skilled man's standard of living. And so on.

If any reader's appetite is still unsatisfied there is a twelve-page bibliography ranging from Aquinas to Marx.

BARBARA WOOTTON.

NATIVE LABOUR IN SOUTH AFRICA. By Sheila van der Horst. *Oxford University Press (Juta & Co., Capetown)*, 1942. 18s. net.

Dr. van der Horst has traced the changing circumstances in which Bantu labour has been employed in South Africa from the beginning of the nineteenth century till the present day. She shows how from that time to this the native policy of the Union has been complicated, if not dominated, by the demand for native labour. This has taken different forms at different stages in the economic development of the country; but the demand has remained constant though the problems raised by it have changed.

In the early days of British administration the attempt to delimit separate territories for black and white broke down in face of the demand for native labour, and as early as 1828 the lines of the modern segregation policy were foreshadowed in the 49th Ordinance, which allowed natives to enter the Cape Colony, but only to work. The perennial complaint of the scarcity of native

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labour on farms is on record from Natal as early as 1852. Only during the depression of the 'eighties, apparently, was it ever reported to be "cheap and plentiful."

The discovery, first of diamonds at Kimberley and then of gold on the Rand, changed the economic face of South Africa and rapidly extended the market for native labour. Policy was not directed consciously or consistently to the aim of increasing the supply; as Dr. van der Horst points out, some legislation was intended for this purpose, some secured it incidentally, and some measures had the opposite effect. The imposition of taxation belonged sometimes to the first and sometimes to the second category. The grant of individual title-deeds to land was advocated, among other reasons, as a means of limiting the number of natives who could count on an assured subsistence from the land. In Natal the immigration of natives from beyond the frontier was encouraged. At the same time pass and vagrancy laws, restricting the movement of natives, to some extent discouraged them from seeking work.

The present phase is characterised, as Dr. van der Horst puts it, by a cleavage of interest between the European employees, on the one hand, and the European employer and native labourer on the other. Natives began to come into competition with Europeans both for skilled and unskilled employment. With Government approval and assistance, they were restricted to unskilled and semi-skilled occupations, while the mining employers of the Transvaal combined for the purpose of buying labour, with the result that the general level of native wages throughout South Africa was depressed. In order to protect Europeans from native competition in other industries, attempts are being made to prevent the entry of natives into industrial centres except for employment in the mines. Thus "one of the most striking characteristics of the South African economy is the authoritarian attempt to regulate the distribution of resources between different industries and different racial groups."

Dr. van der Horst discusses in turn the various measures that have been introduced to this end—the colour bar, the imposition of qualifications for apprenticeship which are practically unattainable by natives, wage regulation, the "civilized labour policy," restrictions on the residence of natives in urban areas—from the point of view of economic efficiency. Does the system which has been developed in order to protect the imagined interests of a section of the population lead to that maximum employment of productive resources which is the economist's highest good? Does it in fact even benefit the white South Africans?

Her answer is quite definite. Measures which restrict the employment of natives "may temporarily protect a privileged few from the difficulties of adjustment required by a changing world," but "only by impeding progress and growth in the wealth of the community taken as a whole, and the native population in particular." "In the economic environment of the twentieth century a caste system can be maintained only by the exercise of force. . . . It is based on a short view of European advantage, preferring the convenience of the present generation of the European population to the prospects for prosperity and peace of their descendants."

This book is a mine of information, not only on the development of legislation,

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but also on the wages and conditions of employment in all the various occupations which are open to natives in the Union.

L. P. MAIR.

SHOULD NATIONS SURVIVE? By Hilda D. Oakeley. *George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1942.* 6s. net.

As the title of this book indicates, the author is wrestling with the question whether nationality and nationalism are essentially good or evil. On the one hand, a nation is an association bound together by historical traditions and values which are certainly of the greatest significance for cultural progress. On the other hand, the black record of nationalism cannot be overlooked. In the author's view the evil side has mainly been developed through the association of nationality with the State. But is this association avoidable? Is it not the principal aim of every national movement? The great Romanticists and idealists who founded the philosophy of nationality, Herder, Rousseau, Fichte, Mazzini, also detested the aggressive power-State and believed that nations were essentially cultural communities, imbued with peaceableness, moral aspirations, and goodwill towards other nations, or that they would soon assume this natural character again when the corrupting influence of the dynasties and aristocracies which determined the character of the State was eliminated. The development which they initiated, however, widely diverged from their ideals. Dr. Hilda Oakeley has given much thought to this vexing problem and contributes interesting points to its discussion. Unfortunately the book is too brief to allow a really adequate discussion—perhaps a consequence of the present scarcity of paper. The author, therefore, touches many questions without discussing them fully. In particular, she omits to define the fundamental terms and to analyse national consciousness. She rightly complains that the ambiguity of the word "nationalism" has had a deplorable effect on thought and action. But she does not propose a clear terminology herself.

The value of the book lies mainly in its suggestions. The emphasizing of human personality and of the historical growth of values is most welcome, and the illustrations are mostly convincing. In one important point, however, the views of the author seem to lack sufficient historical foundations. She believes that the State is more a product of the nation than the nation is a product of the State. This seems to me very debatable, and in any case to require great qualifications. If this view were true, however, how could we explain that the nations have been corrupted by their child, the State?

FREDERICK HERTZ.

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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY	July, Sept., 1942
BRITISH JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY	Nov., 1942
CHARACTER AND PERSONALITY	June, Sept., 1942
ECONOMICA	May, Aug., Nov., 1942
EUGENICS REVIEW	April, July, 1942
GEOGRAPHY	June, Sept., Dec., 1942
HIGHWAY	Nov., Dec., 1942, Jan., 1943
INDIAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE	April-June, July-Sept., 1942
INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION	May, June, 1942
INTERNATIONAL LABOUR REVIEW	May, June, July, Aug., Sept., Oct., 1942
INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF AGRICULTURE	March, 1942
JOURNAL OF ROYAL STATISTICAL SOCIETY	Vol. CV, Parts 1 and 2, 1942
THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATION	July, Aug., Sept., Oct., Nov., 1942
THE JOURNAL OF HEREDITY	June, July, Aug., 1942
MAN	May-June, Sept.-Oct., 1942
MARRIAGE AND FAMILY	Aug., Nov., 1942
MESSAGE	Oct., Nov., Dec., 1942
PLANNING	July 28th, Sept. 8th, Sept. 22nd, Oct. 13th, Oct. 27th, Nov. 17th, Dec. 8th, Dec. 22nd, 1942
PROBATION	May, July, Sept., 1942
QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS	May, Aug., 1942
SCOTTISH GEOGRAPHICAL MAGAZINE	Sept., Dec., 1942
SOCIAL FORCES	May, 1942
SOCIAL WORK	May, 1942
SOCIAL RESEARCH	May, Sept., Nov., 1942
SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH	July-Aug., Sept.-Oct., Nov.-Dec., 1942
TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING	Summer and Autumn, 1942

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THE SOCIAL FRAMEWORK

An Introduction to Economics. By J. R. HICKS. 7s. 6d. net.

The National Income, and the ideas associated with it, are to-day the centre of practical economic discussion; and this is not surprising, for they are the most potent of the keys forged by economic science for the understanding of the modern world. Yet although the idea of the National Income is becoming familiar to readers of the newspapers, no authoritative discussion of what it means has been available in a simple form. A book which assumes no previous knowledge of economics, and proceeds as rapidly as possible to an examination of these problems, should therefore be welcome to the general reader, and should help the teacher and student out of a difficulty. Among other topics discussed are Population, the conditions of Labour, the ownership of Capital, the balance of payments, index-numbers, and the inequality of incomes. The treatment is illustrated throughout by the best available statistics of Britain's economic position just before the outbreak of war.

REFLECTIONS ON GOVERNMENT

By ERNEST BARKER.

21s. net.

This book is concerned with the general movement of political ideas in Europe during the last quarter of a century. It is addressed to what may be called "the problem of Liberty in Europe." The first two parts deal with the internal and external difficulties of democracy (in other words, the difficulties inherent in its own method and those due to the eruption of other ideas and methods); the second two parts deal with amendments to democracy and with the alternatives to its method presented by the different forms of single-party States. The book is a study of ideas rather than of institutions; and the ideas with which it is concerned are ideas of national (and not of international) government.

THE NEW LEVIATHAN

or Man, Society, Civilization, and Barbarism. By R. G. COLLINGWOOD.

21s. net.

The immediate aim of this book is to study the new absolutism of the twentieth century and to inquire into its nature, causes, and prospects of success or failure; success, that is, in either destroying all competitors and becoming the political form of the future, or at least contributing to the political life of the future some positive heritage of ideas and institutions which men will not forget.

"Dr. Collingwood's mature thoughts on political philosophy in its deepest essence as set out in this volume derive an added distinction from the fact that they probably represent the first work of the kind to be born not merely in but out of our present conflict."—*Times Literary Supplement*.

ANGLO-AMERICAN LITERARY RELATIONS

By G. S. GORDON.

5s. net.

GEORGE STUART GORDON, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, died in March, 1942, and left behind him much unpublished work. "Those of his friends," writes Dr. R. W. Chapman in his Prefatory Note to the present volume, "who knew that Gordon had laboured in the field, as yet little tilled, of Anglo-American literary commerce deplored his failure to come to the point of publication." Dr. Chapman has prepared the author's typescript for publication.

CONTENTS: Early American Literature, to the end of the American Revolution; The Rise of American Literature; Friendship in Letters; British Authors in America; British Authors' Copyright; The Literary Hopes of America.

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